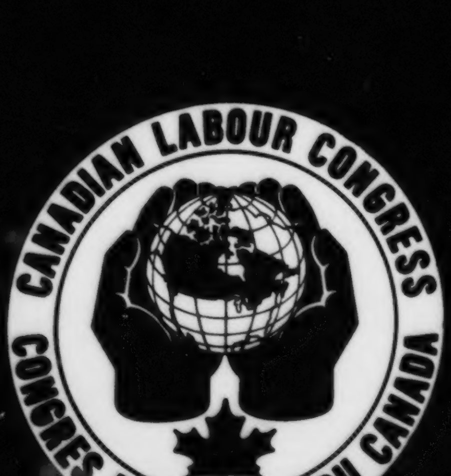
PROCEEDINGS


CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS
CONGRES DU TRAVAIL DU CANADA

15th

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

of the

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

MONTREAL, QUE.

MAY 28 - JUNE 1, 1984

FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

1956 GEORGE MEANY
1958 JOSEPH BIERNE
1960 GEORGE HARRISON
1962 LAWRENCE RAFTERY
1964 JOSEPH KEENAN
1966 I. W. ABEL
1968 HOWARD COUGHLIN
1970 A. F. GROSPIRON
1972 PETER BOMMARITO
1974 C. L. DENNIS
1976 JOSEPH P. TONELLI
1978 LLOYD McBRIDE
1980 JOHN KELLY
1982 MURRAY H. FINLEY
1984 LYNN WILLIAMS

FRATERNAL DELEGATES FROM THE BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

1956 CHARLES J. GEDDES, C.B.E.

1958 SIR ALFRED ROBERTS
WILFRED BEARD

1960 SIR THOMAS WILLIAMSON
ROBERT WILLIS

1962 JOHN L. SIMONS
JAMES H. SOUTHALL

1964 FREDERICK HAYDAY
ROBERT MAIN

1966 LORD HAROLD COLLISON
JOSEPH O'HAGAN

1968 LORD LEWIS WRIGHT
GEORGE H. LOWTHIAN

1970 FRANK COUSINS
JOSEPH CRAWFORD

1972 LORD COOPER
DANIEL McGARVEY

1974 GEORGE H. DOUGHTY
JAMES L. JONES

1976 LORD ALFRED ALLEN, C.B.E.
C. MARIE PATTERSON

1978 T. G. W. ELDER

1980 JOHN WEAVER

1982 SIR JOHN BOYD
SIDNEY WEIGHELL

1984 ALAN SAPPER
BILL WHATLEY

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Canadian Labour Congress
Proceedings of the
15th Constitutional Convention
MONTREAL
May 28-June 1, 1984

MONDAY, MAY 28, 1984
Morning Session

The Fifteenth Constitutional Convention was called to order at 10:10 a.m., Mr. D. McDermott, President, in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Delegates, please take your seats. The convention will please come to order. I would like to advise all the delegates to please utilize the headsets that have been issued to them because a great deal of what takes place up here this morning will be done in both languages.

The other thing is that I want you all to look at and identify the fire exits. We do not have anything planned for you. It happens to be a City of Montreal well-enforced regulation.

It is now my pleasure to call upon Fernand Boudreau, the President of the Montreal Labour Council, to chair the opening ceremonies. Brother Boudreau.

ADDRESSES OF WELCOME

MR. F. BOUDREAU (President, Montreal Labour Council): Brother Chairman, sister and brother members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, honoured guests, fellow delegates, I wish to thank Brother Chairman Dennis McDermott for inviting me to chair the opening ceremonies of the Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress. As President of the Montreal Labour Council, I am honoured to welcome you most warmly to Montreal and to convey to you the fraternal greetings of the Executive Committee members of the Montreal Labour Council, together with those of our 100,000 affiliated members. To host a constitutional convention is a rare event for the Montreal region. The last time a convention was held in Montreal was in 1964, twenty years ago. Let us hope that you will be back sooner, as early as possible, not in twenty years from now.

During this week we are spending together, we shall have the opportunity of discussing more than 500 resolutions, bearing on a very wide range of subjects; yet all have one point in common: the welfare of and better living and working conditions for our members, the men and women workers we are here to represent, and also improved living and working conditions for those workers, men and women, who are not yet unionized, for the unemployed, the welfare recipients, women, the young, the elderly, in short, the men and women most affected and hard hit by the economic crisis and its repercussions. For all these people, we, of the labour movement, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Federations of Labour and Labour Councils, constitute, with our vigilant attitude and the solutions we are proposing, the last bulwark, the ultimate protection against the deterioration of living and working conditions, against the concerted efforts of employers and politicians who are using this crisis to make us go back on some of our gains. Our debate on a working recovery and full employment, this week, cannot but be important for millions of individuals in Canada.

It is essential that we discuss openly the various problems facing us and the solutions we intend to propose, and that we reflect as closely as possible the opinions of the men and women who sent us here to represent them. Only on these terms can we hope to remain as unified as we now are at the beginning of this Convention, not by artificial or precarious means, but in a true and enduring manner. It is through our struggles, and the lessons we learn from them, that our strength and solidarity will grow, and that we will end this Convention more united than ever.

I invite all delegates and their guests to attend the party that the Montreal Labour Council and the Quebec Federation of Labour have organized for Thursday night. It will be held here at the Palais des Congrès, but in another hall. The program for that evening will be communicated to you later this week.

Please also extend the greetings of the Montreal Labour Council to the persons accompanying you. We wish them a pleasant stay in our city and region.

To all delegates, I wish that the decisions taken at this Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress benefit not only the men and women workers that we represent but, also, all men and women who, in a land as rich as ours, have only unemployment, misery, and poverty to share. Thank you.

I now ask all delegates and the other persons here present to join Brother Willie Desbiens, of the Canadian Union of Paper Workers, in the singing of the national anthem, O Canada; and then, The Travellers, as the group sings Solidarity Forever.

(Singing of O Canada and Solidarity Forever.)

MR. F. BOUDREAU (President, Montreal Labour Council): On your behalf, I wish to thank Brother Willie Desbiens and The Travellers for their remarkable renditions.

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you a brother you often had the occasion to meet since the Canadian Labour Congress was founded. I personally met him for the first time in 1963; he was then, and had been for several years, President of the Montreal Labour Council. Then, he already had to his credit many years of militancy; having started as a machinist at Canadair, he held several offices within his union, the International Association of Machinists. Since 1964, he has been President of the Quebec Federation of Labour. I now call upon the President of the Quebec Federation of Labour, Louis Laberge, to address you.

MR. L. LABERGE (President, Quebec Federation of Labour): Brothers and sisters, it is a pleasure to welcome you. For those of you who are from Quebec, this is not much of a change, as we were here not so long ago.

In view of the large quantity of important matters we have to discuss, this Convention promises to be quite busy.

Mr. President, sisters and brothers, distinguished guests, I want to welcome you very, very warmly in Montreal in this new convention centre that we call in French *Le Palais des Congrès*. Why we call it a palace, it's because of the prices we charge. I understand they asked Don Montgomery 30 cents per glass of water served to the delegates. We need the money. But there was an alternative. If he left the glasses behind the hall with the pots there, it was only 15 cents. He took it at 15. I think it would have been better at 30. To start with, our water is not so good. And then, we want to push our beer and our wine.

Speaking very seriously, this is a very important time for all of us across Canada to discuss the important problems facing us. Who else is going to push our governments to adopt a policy of full employment, not only in words, but in trying to implement a policy of full employment, if it isn't the labour movement?

How can we ever hope that all of our programs for affirmative action — whether it be for the youngsters, whether it be for the visible minorities, as we now call them, whether it be for handicapped workers or whether it be for all of the women who need to get into the labour force and can't — eliminate the ghettos that are in existence, who is going to do it, if not the labour movement?

To us, this is a very serious matter. With official unemployment rates at around ten and eleven per cent, and Mr. Lalonde, with his very serious face, tells us that until the year 2000, or at least the year 1990, we can expect the unemployment rate to remain at about what it is. When we know that the official rate must be some four or five per cent below the exact rate, this is awful and somebody has got to do something about it. When we look at the new technologies, and some experts in Canada tell us that with all of the robots that will be installed on our assembly lines within the next five or six years, some two million jobs will be affected, then, how can we really hope to be in a position to work towards our program for affirmative action if we do not go after our governments and if we do not put our shoulder to the wheel in order to implement a policy of full employment compatible with the reducing of work time, whether it be by the day, by the week, by the year or by the lifetime?

MR. F. BOUDREAU (President, Montreal Labour Council): Thank you, Brother Laberge. The mandate I received this morning is coming to a close. I now have the honour of introducing to you the President of the Canadian Labour Congress, Brother Dennis McDermott. A member since 1948 of the United Automobile Workers' Union, it is through successive stages that he rose to the office of International Vice-President and Director for Canada, before being elected President of the Canadian Labour Congress in 1978. We remember him as the brother who gave the push that had to be given to help the United Aircraft workers during their difficult strike in 1974. I would ask Brother Dennis McDermott, our President of the Canadian Labour Congress, to please accept the Chairman's gavel and deliver the opening address to our Fifteenth Constitutional Convention.

MR. D. McDERMOTT (President, CLC): Thank you very much Fernand and Louis.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You know, I look out on the convention floor and I see you as you are, a group of Canadians who look and dress like any other representative group in our society. While that's what I see on the one hand, some of us who deal in what psychiatrists call "mental pictures" look out there a second time and see a different group picture. I see a group of bloody, hurting, battle-scarred veterans. I see the bandages around the head, the crutches under the arms and the scar-tissue showing, because we all know it's true that every affiliated organization represented here has suffered many casualties in the last two years.

Scarcely any of us have escaped injury in the war of the last two years. For, my friends, it was a war, is a war and continues to be a war against the working class in this country and their representatives in the trade union movement. And as I go around the country looking at, speaking to and dialoguing with groups of trade unionists, I see the scars, the wear and tear and the effects of the last two years. Yet I can still see the glint of determination in the eye, the reflection of the strong moral fibre that we have retained and a spirit as yet unbroken. So why don't we tell them all that we are not through yet. As a matter of fact, we just got started!

I am not sure that too many people in this country, including many of us in the labour movement, understand and appreciate that since we were in convention two years ago in Winnipeg, this labour movement has been severely tested all across this land — indeed, tried and tested as never before in our history. The last two years, as pessimistic as we were, have been worse than we ourselves predicted. Before I say anything more, I want to say to you as the President of this organization that I am immensely proud of this Canadian labour movement and the people in it. And I make no apologies to anyone for the fight we put up over the last two years. Because while we may be bruised and battered, we have effectively demonstrated our integrity and our willingness to fight for what we believe is rightfully ours. And we have demonstrated under these extreme circumstances that we are a force to be reckoned with.

If this Convention does nothing else this week, it must continue to demonstrate our ability to close ranks in common cause and serve notice on the power elite that, if anything, this labour movement has been strengthened as a result of the experience of the last two and four years. And I am glad to say also that, at the same time we ourselves have been suffering in an unprecedented way, we have nevertheless shown compassion and provided assistance to others in distress. We have, my friends, demonstrated in so many ways and to so many people the true worth and value of good practising trade unionism. That is why I believe there is some light on the horizon. That there is reason to feel some optimism as well as the continued pessimism.

Some of our affiliates are beginning to organize successfully in Eaton's and other formerly impregnable fortresses of the retail monopolies. Many of our friends in the departed building trades are now coming forward and seeking ways and means of returning to this Congress and to the legitimate house of labour. And you had better believe that we are going to start to accommodate them. The same is true for other people in other organizations at this moment outside the Congress. The same is true of unorganized working people and others in society who have been inspired by the activities of this labour movement over the last several years and who are also beginning to show some interest in coming into the house of labour. So there are reasons for encouragement and optimism, and certainly very little if anything to apologize for.

I don't have to tell you that, as we assemble here in Montreal, we are ever mindful of the economic and social disaster that grips our country and its people. We are acutely aware of the government-inspired tragedy that has transformed in excess of two million once-proud working, productive tax payers into Unemployment Insurance recipients and welfare cases, with all the resulting personal agony, humiliation and brutal dehumanizing effects. The politicians, the economists, the scribes and the other unaffected elitists and the apologists offer up statistics, numbers and percentages. They don't seem to appreciate or to realize that the figures that they refer to so casually are real live flesh-and-blood human beings, Canadian people who deserve better. They are the innocent victims of the cruel economic policy of a government and political party that are blazing trails back into the 19th century. Economic columnist Don McGillivray recently defined a pessimist as somebody who expects a new recession to start to show itself this year. And an optimist as someone who expects it to start next year.

We have been told by government and the business community that an economic recovery started the beginning of 1983. But more than a year into the so-called recovery, we still have one of the worst unemployment records in the industrialized world. And every reputable forecast says things will not get much better in the foreseeable future. In 1983, the year of the so-called recovery, the rate of unemployment averaged 11.9 per cent, the highest annual average since the 1930s. In March 1984, it was still 11.4 per cent and rising. And, of course, we all know for young people the rates are even higher — 18.4 per cent in March of 1984. Over 31,000 jobs disappeared that same month. We are still 168,000 jobs below the level of August 1981, which is generally regarded as the beginning of the slump. For young people aged 15 to 24, there are still 322,000 fewer jobs than in August of 1981. The numbers of unemployed have risen for five months in a row and there are now more than 589,000 more unemployed than there were in August 1981. While the official record shows 1.4 million jobless, we know that the true record is in excess of two million.

A year into the so-called recovery, incomes are still depressed. On average, workers at the end of 1983 would need a little over $39 a week more just to be where they were at the end of 1976. Business investment is still falling after decreases in both 1982 and 1983. We have begun to see high interest rates again, with every indication that they will continue to climb throughout 1984. This spring, real interest rates — the spread between inflation and what the banks charge for money — are at near record heights and show no sign of narrowing. The federal government's "made in America" interest rate policy has produced a Bank of Canada rate of nearly 11 per cent and a prime lending rate from the major banks of 12 per cent. With five-year mortgages at 14 per cent, there has been a dramatic drop in the rate of housing starts in the past two months. And this is now beginning to affect the purchase of appliances, furnishings and so on.

So who in their right mind could call this a recovery? There is a recovery all right; a recovery in profits for the banks and the corporate giants. This is the trickle-down, Milton Friedman theory of monetarism that says we are supposed to benefit by all of this. But those increased profits aren't being invested in Canada to create more jobs and more prosperity as the monetarist economists said would happen. Instead, business is indulging in corporate cannibalism, buying each other out; or heavily investing profits offshore. The story continues. It gets worse, and it gets worse.

Now, I know that the apologists all reason that this is not a situation peculiar to Canada. You can read it in the press every day. They argue that there are many complexities, including international pressures, things beyond their control and so on. Some of this is true, but they also, I submit to you, make very stupid comparisons. I get the problems facing the French socialist administration of François Mitterand thrown in my face every day. Any why? Because the monetarists delight in this apparent failure to cure all France's ills with the economic theories he applied. But to compare France with Canada is absurd. France is deeply involved with the integrated European Economic Community. France, like Britain, lost a colonial empire on which it was largely dependent a number of years ago. France possesses none of the abundant natural resources which give Canada its great potential. Our population is much smaller than theirs. There is really no comparison between the two.

The hypothetical question that should be asked by ourselves, the pundits and the commentators is: If François Mitterand of France, Bob Hawke of Australia, Filipe Gonzales of Spain or any other social democratic national leader were given the opportunity to lead Canada (with all of its abundance and enormous potential), would they break inflation on the backs of workers? Would they create massive unemployment and a depression as part of a conscious and deliberate economic policy? Would they reject the opportunity to create an industrial strategy, to develop the badly needed secondary industries, to foster "made in Canada" research and development? Would these social democratic leaders put our resources up for auction like some national going-out-of-business sale? And the answer is, of course, they would not. They would not! They would blink at their new found good fortune, thank their respective gods, roll up their sleeves and get on with the job of building Jerusalem in this green, prosperous and very pleasant land. That's what they would do. The answer my friends, and the object lesson to us all, is that neither would Ed Broadbent and his New Democrats if we give them a chance to plant the seed of social democracy in this country!

We have the potential to make social democracy in this country a reality. The backdrop at our last convention, if you recall it, said: "The problems are economic and social, the solution is political". We have said it over and over gain; there is no other way. That statement is even more relevant today than it was two years ago. I have been sometimes criticized for repeating it too often; I am going to keep repeating it. And, I don't mean, as some have claimed, that we abandon our trade union activities and union objectives and depend entirely on the political process. I have never said that. Normal trade union activity and political activity complement each other. One is an extension of the other; both need each other. Collective bargaining innovations and pioneering set patterns for legislative enactment.

Our parallel campaigns; the on-the-job canvass; the Economic Recovery Alternative programs; the fight on six and five; the fight on concessions; our concerns about the effects of deregulation; our concentration on the technological revolution; our Canadian Health Coalition to save medicare; our support for such groups as the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association, the B.C. Fishermen's Coalition and native peoples; our demonstrated concern and current attention to pension reform; our support for the peace movement; our concentration on human rights; our belief in equality for women; our activities are complementary to and supportive of the partisan political process. We need to increase our efforts tangibly in both areas. I say it candidly. I think it is an inescapable fact of life that we are not going to lead ourselves out of this wilderness until we start to demonstrate some considerable political maturity; simply put, a demonstrated ability to produce large numbers of votes on important given occasions.

I say to you that the potential is there. There are two million of us. Multiply two million trade unionists by voting-age immediate members of family, relatives, neighbours, friends and others within their sphere of influence, and you understand the enormous potential of what I am talking about. And while I say it over and over again, I still like the phrase: working men and women voting for Liberals and Conservatives is the equivalent of chickens voting for Colonel Sanders. And what better example do we have in front of us than the provinces of British Columbia and Saskatchewan? B.C. has all the ingredients for success and prosperity — a province richly endowed with natural resources, a strong, unified and viable labour movement, a reasonably sophisticated approach to collective bargaining, a reasonably progressive, enlightened and viable political alternative in the New Democratic Party and what we thought was a reasonably progressive electorate. And what happened? We now have a Lebanon in Canada simply because a majority of the good burghers of B.C. went momentarily nuts at the ballot box one day.

That's why we are where we are in B.C. We now find ourselves in a state of war; our people are bleeding all over the place. And how long did it take to produce that change? As long as it took the people to mark their ballots. It's that simple. And Saskatchewan is the same way. In fact, the two most progressive provinces in the country overnight turned into the two most reactionary, and it all happened at the ballot box. As much as I admire and applaud the strength and courage of our people in B.C. and what they are attempting to do out there, it is nevertheless a crying shame that our people and resources and energies and commitment are all being burned up in defence of the status quo. We fight like hell, win what we already have, feel good about it and claim it as a victory. Since when was the labour movement the defender of the status quo? That's our predicament.

Is it a coincidence when we look across this land and discover the only provincial government not to join Trudeau's six and five scam in some variation happens to be Manitoba, which by great coincidence happens to be NDP? Is it a coincidence that when I look around in my capacity as the chairman of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council that Australia, with a government equivalent to the NDP, is the only major Commonwealth country not to impose wage controls or come down on their own government employees? There will, I hope, be a great deal of concentration on our ongoing endeavours in this regard. We should not be discouraged by the current scenario, the media reports on the polls and so on. We can draw comfort from the fact that working people have elected social democratic governments in recent times in such western bloc countries as Sweden, France, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Australia and Venezuela. If they can demonstrate the necessary collective political savvy, then surely we can too, if we apply ourselves. We are deluding ourselves if we think we can get out of the present social and economic difficulties without demonstrating our ability to effectively put together a political alternative. In other words, let's have a new slogan: that collective balloting in this labour movement is equal in importance to collective bargaining. Let's make that one stick for the next two years.

The resilience of this labour movement is outstanding. Some journalistic commentators have been writing our obituary for two years, but we ain't up and died yet! For despite the beating I mentioned earlier, we are alive, well and, I firmly believe, spiritually stronger than before. And, I think, despite the efforts of some to depict it otherwise, this Convention will demonstrate this week that we are more united than ever before. And I speak specifically to some of the efforts that I know have gone on to try and divide this labour movement, because, as Louis Laberge noted in his welcome, we are the last obstacle to the monetarists and elitists out there. They'd have it all their own way if it weren't for us. We are the only viable organization in society capable of and willing to fight back.

Private sector workers are told not to sympathize with public sector employees, who supposedly enjoy job security. The word "tenure" is even used. I know of no trade union with tenure. Why not impose six and five, private sector employees are told. Public sector workers are paid by the taxpayers, they're well indexed, all they do is count paper clips. And public sector workers in turn are told that private sector workers are greedy, self-serving, overpaid, unproductive people driving us out of competitive international markets. Well, I don't know what your experience has been. I know what mine has. In all of the gatherings I've been to in the last two years — and I've attended a lot of them — I have never failed to see the public sector worker in support and defence of his or her private sector counterpart, and vice versa. Some of the most passionate and eloquent speeches I've heard have been on these occasions. So I think we send out a very clear message from this Convention — divide and conquer tactics will not work, we have more in common than we have in difference, we live in the same neighbourhood, we share the same burdens, we are part of the same family and — propaganda to the contrary — we are going to stand together.

We have demonstrated that we can do it. At our last Convention in Winnipeg, we debated at great length the issue of collective bargaining concessions. We weren't talking about something that was likely to happen or some artificial nightmare. We faced a very real, very immediate, carefully planned and co-ordinated employer demand. We faced the unfortunate reality of precedence and patterns being established in American collective bargaining. Indeed, the U.S. sections of some of our own affiliates were at that moment agreeing to concessions that we in Convention in Winnipeg were saying we were going to reject. I don't have to paint you a picture to illustrate the gravity of that situation. And after due and proper debate we said in one voice that enough is enough, that there would be no U.S. concessions in Canada, that we would not go down that road, and that we would stem the tide at the border. And we did it, and felt good about it. We stemmed the tide; we kept the faith.

There were some skeptics, admittedly, within and without who said it was all convention rhetoric. Some thought we didn't mean it. Others thought we couldn't do it even if we did mean it. The facts are we did stem the tide, we did keep the faith and, if you don't already know, we were the first national labour centre in the western industrialized world to do so. We set the example; we gave the rest of them courage and inspiration. There have been some minor slippages here and there, but by and large we kept the faith. In many cases, I appreciate this was done at enormous cost and personal sacrifice to both the organizations and the people involved. I think the message has gone across loud and clear to employers and they now know that Canada is not fertile ground for concessions. I'm not suggesting the fight is over. I think we won the first round. Employers will be back with their two-tier demands and other fancy arrangements. We are going to address that issue again at Convention this week. There will be another major statement on concessions submitted to you. I think we have to send out another very clear message as a result of our debate — we rejected concessions in 1982 and we reject them even more forcibly in 1984.

You all know that my union, the UAW, was one of the first on the concessions firing line. They faced some of the all-powerful multinational industrial giants of the automobile industry, who had already scooped billions of dollars from the American workers' pockets. Not only did that union win against the auto giants, they fought it out tooth and nail with the rest of them in the aerospace and parts and supplies industries at great, great personal sacrifice. I don't have to tell you how proud I am of the men and women in my union, the United Automobile Workers. They deserve the credit. When I learned that General Motors had been forced to break the U.S. pattern and agreed to the made-in-Canada settlement, I yelled "Hallelujah, marvel of all marvels, General Motors has finally recognized Canada as a foreign country."

Do you know how important that was? During that critical Chrysler strike, I watched the media in their systematic search for evidence of dissent or even a degree of misunderstanding among the members. Hundreds of people in the different Chrysler locations were interviewed — striking workers, their spouses and family members. They found not one single solitary word of dissent, and no measure of misunderstanding. I remember those interviews very well. It warmed the cockles of my heart. They all responded in much the same way: we trust Bob White; we have faith in the union; we understand the issues including the risk; and, we know what the hell we are doing. The lesson for all of us, including those who have not yet been required to face the challenge of concessions, is that every union that has successfully headed off concessions has done so by the intelligent mobilization of its people at all levels, by the utilization of massive on-going day-to-day communication with its people and by the exercise of responsible leadership at all levels to the point that every single worker and members of his or her family knew exactly what was at stake, including the risk before entering the conflict. The old saying that there is no substitute for an up-to-date and informed membership still holds true.

I point to the fight of the International Woodworkers of America despite enormous pressures of massive layoffs, a sick industry, slack markets and a very determined group of employers. They too withstood the tide, and I know the great personal sacrifice that those people went through. I pay tribute to our friends in the B.C. Government Employees' Union, who set an excellent example for other provincial government workers in their first encounter with Bill Bennett and his bullies in B.C. I know the Canadian Paperworkers' Union for two years have been battling concessions all across this land at great expense and at great personal sacrifice. So too have Energy and Chemical, Canadian Union of Public Employees and Steel; so too Textile and Clothing, even in their long-depressed industry. All fought tooth and nail on the matter of concessions and fought successfully.

So we have a justifiable right to feel good about our collective fight. To again coin an old phrase, there is nothing more effective than "teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in the ranks". A lot of our battle began here in Quebec. That came as a great surprise to our people here, who thought they had elected a friendly government. You know the history of that conflict and the way they fought back. The rest of us benefited as a result of that experience. The B.C. Coalition, I think, is an inspiration to all of us. The value of coalition-building, getting the support of other women and men and drawing strength from each other, is clear.

Right now in Germany, the Metal Workers' Federation not only has said no to concessions, but want to start moving forward again. They are currently on strike for the 35-hour week and we have sent them our message of support. I have no doubt that, at this Convention, we're going to be talking about this issue. If we can collectively demonstrate that we're serious about it, we can begin to move on shorter working time. Not only to help cure unemployment and create jobs in this country, but also so we can bargain effectively and without inhibition on things like technological change. When we talk about the short work week, there isn't any one union that's going to do it by accident, or any one do it by design. It's going to take a collective effort. And if the CLC has to put together a collective bargaining co-ordinating conference this year, so we can sit down and take some time and work it out and develop some affiliate discipline, then, propaganda to the contrary, Dennis McDermott in 1984 is for getting shorter work time in this country.

In addition to working with and assisting affiliates in various activities such as repelling raids by non-affiliates, the Congress has initiated a number of national and regional projects. We held our conference on the economy in March of 1983, "The People's Response to the Planned Depression". We followed that up with the establishment of the ERA program, the Economic Recovery Alternative. We had at about the same time, or perhaps a little earlier, identified with the Catholic Bishops' statement on the economy. We joined with the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives and pursued that endeavour out beyond the scope of the labour movement.

We arranged for and attended a trade union summit to parallel the seven-nation summit held in Williamsburg, Virginia. There, we met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and the jelly bean man himself, Ronald Reagan. We sat with trade union people from seven nations: Britain, the United States, Japan, France, Italy, Germany and Canada. And, despite all our differences, we worked out a consensus. We took that consensus to Reagan, and said that if trade unionists from the seven countries could work it out, then the political leaders should be able to. Reagan was something less than inspiring.

In March 1983, we met with those incredibly brave and imaginative people from the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association. One of those people, who is our guest here today, was in jail on a hunger strike at that time. At the same time, we joined with the leaders of the aboriginal peoples in support of their constitutional demands on the government. We have co-sponsored conferences on multiculturalism in the workplace. We worked closely with the Abella Commission on affirmative action. The Medicare coalition we put together is having a profound influence in fighting the erosion and dismantling of health services in this country. In the latter part of 1983 and beginning of 1984, we co-ordinated labour's efforts for peace and built support for and funded the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. We worked with the petrochemical task force and developed our own eminar on technological change.

In addition to all this, the CLC made numerous representations to the federal government and its ministries and agencies on numerous issues such as the Canada Labour Code. The amendments to the code are now on the order paper. It gives you an idea of the real progressiveness of the Liberal Party in the federal arena. The UAW won the Rand Formula back in 1946 and 38 years later we get it on a platter from the Liberals. We have talked about and made representation on taxation of northern benefits, pension reform and also deregulation, which will be before you this week. I for one don't want to live in that deregulated society to the south of us I visit every once in a while! We will deal with health and safety, that sometimes gets neglected in hard times. The Congress made representations on Bill C-157 — that's the brand new proposed Canadian Security Intelligence Service. I met Solicitor-General Robert Kaplan with a group from the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. Kaplan told me if the government had had this agency back in the days of the FLQ, we would never have had the War Measures Act. And I looked at him and said: "I have to think about that one. I'm not so sure that a momentary aberration like the War Measures Act every 15 or 20 years isn't preferable to the kind of permanent CIA or KGB that you're trying to institute." After considerable debate and with great caution, we decided to accept nomination to the Macdonald Commission, based on the notion that we would get in and look and reserve our right to get out. More recently, we have cautiously, perhaps and with some reluctance, agreed to participate on the Labour Market and Productivity Centre. That agency is still in its infancy, but we're going to give it a try. If it turns into a scam, then we are still very tentative.

As decided by the last Convention, the Commission on Constitution and Structure travelled across the country, listening to representations from all sections of our movement. Their report is forthcoming at this Convention. It contains a number of recommendations for change, not the least of which are two items designed to improve the CLC structure. These provide, firstly, for more equitable representation for public service unions and, secondly, for more equitable representation for women in this movement by using affirmative action as the means to that end. I know that the former is less controversial than the latter. Let me be frank about it. There is no neat, orderly way to engineer affirmative action. It is bound to upset the status quo a little bit; it is bound to challenge long-standing concepts and beliefs. In the final analysis, when the chips are down, you either believe in it or you don't. But, in order to make progress, we have to stick our neck out. And that's what we're doing. We have to set an example by practising what we preach. We can no longer tolerate our making sanctimonious lectures to employers and to governments, while at the same time ignoring our own obligations.

No, nothing is perfect. One adopts a basic principle and then seeks a formula through which to implement that principle. We cannot possibly accommodate all views, all aspirants to office or, for that matter, the priorities and the desires of all affiliates. But we believe our basic principle is sound. The proposed formula, while not perfect, is reasonably equitable. The very worst that can happen is for us to get into a wrangle about the formula that then becomes the instrument of destroying the principle. So I say to you that, if you are opposed to the principle, then speak to that issue specifically. Don't use disagreement with the formula as an excuse for opposing the principle. I am confident that in these and other areas we can effect these changes without serious disruption, and I would suggest that we bite the bullet and get on with it. There will be policy papers on economic policy, technology, political action, women and affirmative action, concessions, human rights, deregulation and peace, security and disarmament. We must redouble our efforts to march down the road of recovery, to begin to work our way down the road of ongoing and continued progress.

Before I close, I want to touch more briefly on the international scene. We have been at congresses where we dealt with the whole question of peace. We were at the Caribbean Congress of Labour Convention at the very time the invasion of Grenada took place. We have been in New Delhi, at the Commonwealth Conference, winning new friends and new credentials. We have been working with our friends in Latin America, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and their regional affiliates, to try and provide tangible assistance down there. We have been in Chile. We have taken part in many ICFTU missions to Latin American trouble spots, encouraging the development of the Contadora peace initiative in Central America. In February 1983, at our initiative, we met with all the regional trade union leaders and the members of the governments of Panama, Mexico, Columbia and Venezuela. We've had people in Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala and elsewhere.

We are continuing to help trade union development in some of the African countries, in the Caribbean, in Latin America and in Asia. If you look at our guest list, you will see people from inside that dark and dangerous country of South Africa, workers from inside Chile and from inside El Salvador. We welcome our friends from Europe, including representatives from Polish Solidarnösc, because we haven't forgotten about them either. We can't be everywhere, and we can't help everyone, and we can't do everything. But we do try. The important thing to understand is the aid and assistance the CLC puts forward has no strings attached.

We work with other national labour centres and with the ICFTU in many fields of endeavour. Yet our main concern, our closest affinity, is with Latin America, because we are part of the Americas. Countries like El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile and Guatemala are powder kegs which could ignite World War III and ultimately trigger a nuclear holocaust that will vaporize this planet and every living thing on it. We all have a vested interest in peace, regardless of our political viewpoint.

I, for one, firmly believe there would have been internal revolution in Nicaragua and civil war in El Salvador even if the Soviet Union never existed, Cuba had never come about and Karl Marx had never been born. That's an inescapable fact. The Monroe Doctrine is an anachronism. U.S. policies in Latin America are totally insane, and I would like to see a Canadian government elected with enough intestinal fortitude and enough guts to tell them so. I understand the American aversion to Marxist-Leninism. What I don't understand, what I can't get through my thick head, is the stated preference for cruel, fascist military dictatorships as the acceptable alternative to Marxist-Leninism. I don't understand, neither can I rationalize, the argument that someone like Somoza is preferable to the Sandinistas, that Pinochet is an improvement over Allende, that Castro is somehow worse than Batista. If we want democracy to arrive in Latin America, if we want it to work, if we want it to flourish, we should be encouraging the development of democratic forces in those countries. This includes free and effective trade unions, and not sadistic military juntas that violently suppress both.

Central America is not the only part of the global village where peasants and their urban cousins are in revolt. Our pledge is that, wherever and whenever this labour movement can help, we will help workers, their organizations and their trade union and political friends to stand up to their oppressors and to fight for their own rights. When classrooms built in Windsor by Canadian workers are sent to Belize, we are helping those people strengthen their capacity to defend and fight for their rights. When we finance vocational training seminars in North Africa for public health workers, we are doing the same thing. Workers' rights are not granted by acts of benevolence; they are won by hard and continuous struggle. And we have learned from experience how we draw strength from each other.

My final message is that perhaps the most important item on our agenda is the whole question of the attainment of world peace. We must play our part; we must join hands with other people in common cause everywhere. All of the things that I've talked about, all of the things that we're going to talk about this week — our economic future, our social concerns, the welfare of our country — all of this means nothing if we are doomed to die in a nuclear holocaust. Our basic right to survival is global. Workers in Minsk or in Moscow or in Moline or in Minneapolis or in Montreal or in Moncton don't care whether they are vaporized by design or by accident.

The task seems awesome; the challenge immense. This labour movement is just one of many. We have to play our part in this country because nobody else will do it for us. I believe we have the talent, I believe we have the capacity, I believe we have the fortitude to do so. We owe it not just to ourselves, but to our children and our children's children. May they say of us when they write the history books, that we gave them a world of peace, a world of bread and freedom, a world of prosperity and enlightment, a world where people come before profit, a world secure because the human family reigns supreme. By our actions this week and our follow-up actions over the next two years, let the history books say that about us.

(Standing ovation)

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. It is now my duty to declare this Fifteenth Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress properly convened to consider all matters before it. I would now like to call on Fernand Boudreau, so I can present him with this gavel as a memento of the CLC Convention in Montreal and to thank him for his valuae participation in the opening ceremonies.

Convention Guests

It is also now my pleasure to introduce some of the retired officers, the fraternal delegates, the foreign guests and other visitors that we have with us this morning. The first one is none other than Joe Morris, the president emeritus and the former Canadian Labour Congress president; another friend, longtime trade unionist Bill Dodge, the past secretary-treasurer and the past ombudsman of the Canadian Labour Congress; Henry Lorrain, the current ombudsman of the Canadian Labour Congress.

Our fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress: Alcn Sapper, Vice-Chairman of the General Council and General Secretary of the Association of Cinematographers, Television and Allied Technicians; and Bill Whatley, General Council Member and General Secretary of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers. The new General Secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, John Vanderveken.

This next guy isn't a foreign guest: Louis (Smokey) Bruyère, President of the Native Council of Canada; we are all his foreign guests.

Alan Wilford, the President of the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association.

Our good friend, Luis Anderson, General Secretary of the ORIT, the regional organization of the ICFTU.

Rodolfo Seguel, President of CNT, that's the National Workers' Command, the umbrella union organization in Chile.

Maximino Torres, former financial secretary of the FESINCONSTRANS in El Salvador.

Banda Kgwadi, President of the United African Motor Workers' Union, South Africa; and Agnes Molefe, General Secretary of the Laundry Workers' Union in South Africa.

Carl Wright, Director of the Commonwealth Trade Union Council.

Jerzy Milewski, Director of the Co-ordinating Office Abroad, in Brussels, of the Polish Solidarnösc.

Maier Gatt, the American Representative of Histadrut.

Boniface Kabore, President of the ICFTU-African Region Organization, in Francophone Africa.

John Whitehouse, the Director of International Labour Organization here in Canada.

Sally Cornwall who is the Regional Secretary of the North American Regional Organization of the International Food Workers (IUF).

I now call on the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Ian Reilly, for the first report.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

MR. I. REILLY (Credentials Committee Chairman): Mr. Chairman, on behalf of Lucy Nicholson, the Secretary, and the other members of the Committee, I would like to make a brief statement before I give the report. The Committee wishes with regret to record the passing of Al Blakeley, who for many conventions served as the Chairman of this Committee. With his dedication, good sense and understanding, he was of valuable assistance to his fellow Committee members and to the Congress staff. It was his understanding of human nature and convention procedures that made the registration of delegates and the resolving of problems more than a mere formality.

Alvin, a long-time officer of the International Association of Fire Fighters and a former officer of the New Brunswick Federation of Labour, promoted the interest of the labour movement with his quiet determination which inspired others to support him in his endeavours. He is and will be missed.

The first partial report as of this morning:

Fraternal delegates registered	2
ICFTU representative	1
Congress officers	4
Representatives of affiliated organizations	65
Officers and delegates from Federations of Labour	18
Labour Council representatives	18
Representatives of affiliated organizations	1,252
Representatives of directly chartered unions	12
Total	1,372

I move this interim report.

MS. L. NICHOLSON (Credentials Committee Secretary): I support.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): What's your pleasure on the first report of the Credentials Committee? It's been moved and seconded. Any comment? All in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

Tribute — Deceased Trade Unionists

At this point in time, I will ask the Convention to please stand so that we can pay tribute to our deceased fellow trade unionists. It is customary at this time in the proceedings to pause and honour the memory of those of our sisters and brothers who have passed away since we last came together two years ago. We think of those labour pioneers whose many years of work and sacrifice have come to an end. The formidable obstacles they faced and overcame gave us inspiration and determination to carry forward their life's labour. We think of those taken before their time by disease and misfortune. Their unfinished work is our work. Their unfinished hopes, our hopes. We think of those struck down by occupational illness and accidents; all too many of those deaths were either predictable or avoidable. They are a tragic reminder of the need to maintain both our vigilance in the work place and our efforts to secure effective occupational health and safety legislation. We think of the families, relatives and friends of those many fine women and men who we have been privileged to know. We share their loss, we share their grief, and we of course remember.

I now call on Secretary-Treasurer Montgomery to report on the procedure for the convention.

CONVENTION PROCEDURES

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Brother President, fellow delegates, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen, the program for the Convention and its procedures, are set out in your blue book that you have received with your kit.

I draw your attention that, as of tomorrow morning, the starting hour is at 9:30 in the morning and the Convention adjourns each day at 12:30 for lunch, reconvenes for 2 o'clock; and the Convention adjourns each day at 5 p.m. On Wednesday night, there is an evening session, so you will return at 7:30 and, hopefully, the evening session will end at 9:30. On Friday, the adjournment is set for 12:30 but if we do not conclude the business, that hour may be extended. The rules and order of business set out in this booklet are taken directly from the Constitution.

Brother President, I move that the program of business and the rules and order of business be adopted.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You heard the motion. Is their a seconder? Any discussion? If not, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Fellow delegates, in your kits, you will find a white sheet of paper with two squares, one in English, the other in French, which sets out the nomination procedure for candidates for the various offices to be elected at this Convention. It says: "Nominations must be submitted on the form entitled Nomination Papers and placed in the Nomination Box which is located beside the dias on the Convention Hall platform. Nominations properly completed and signed must be deposited in the Nomination Box *on or before 5:30 p.m.* on Wednesday, the third day of the Convention. Nominations will not be accepted after the closing time set out above, in this notice. The Secretary-Treasurer will supply Nomination Papers upon request."

Brother President, I move the adoption of the nomination procedure.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You heard the motion. Is there a seconder? All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Fellow delegates, you will find in your kit another sheet of white paper. The heading is: Fifteenth Constitutional Convention, Canadian Labour Congress Convention Committees. Set out on the list are 18 committees one of whom you have heard report this morning. They will deal with the various resolutions in the Resolutions' Book, plus the Report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure and the Officers' Reports.

Brother President, I move the approval of the Convention Committees as set out in this document.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion on the establishment of the Convention Committees.

MR. A. PAPINEAU (PSAC, Local 70344): I second that motion.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Anything else?

MR. A. PAPINEAU (PSAC, Local 70344): Well I want to have a point of order, but I want to get this out of the road.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): O.K. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Fellow delegates, again I ask you to go to your kits and you will find three documents; one is the Report of the Executive Council, one is the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer, one is the Financial Statement. I move that these three documents plus the speech given by our President this morning be referred to the Officers' Reports Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Regularly moved. Is there a seconder? All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Again I direct your attention to the kit. You will find in the kit the Report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure. I move that this Report be referred to the Committee on Constitution and Laws.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is to refer to the Committee on Constitution and Laws. All those in favour of the motion? Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): For a change, I will not refer you to your kit, but will advise you that the Resolutions on Constitution and Structure now are being distributed. I move that these Resolutions on Constitution and Structure be referred to the Committee on Constitution and Laws.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Once again, all those in favour? Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Finally, the heavy book, the big book with the yellow cover contains resolutions that are set out in sections to be dealt with by the Convention Committees you recently approved. It is a procedural motion and I move that the resolutions in this book be referred to the appropriate committees and the appropriate committees are listed in the index showing resolutions referred to the committees.

I so move this referral, Brother President.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is to refer. All those in favour, please indicate by raising your right hand. Opposed?

MR. J. TREACY (UAW, Local 222): Brother Chairman, fellow delegates, am I under the impression that you want the Convention over in about half-an-hour or do we have the opportunity to discuss those resolutions in the next couple of days?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Oh yes, the resolutions will come to you through the appropriate committees.

MR. J. TREACY (UAW, Local 222): Well what is the general idea then of trying to refer them on to the committees?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): It is a procedural matter that we do to get those resolutions technically before the committees. Anybody else? All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

Brother on mike 1, what is your point?

MR. A. PAPINEAU (PSAC, Local 70344): A point of order. You have given us a very extensive agenda and it covers everything from the foetus to the funeral. But the thing that is bothering me is that we are going to go through a major radical change in our organizational structure. We are going to have a vast number of new candidates running for offices and most of us will not have the privilege of knowing those candidates that will be running for the future office during the course of the week. I would like to have some assurance that this Congress will be making arrangements for us to meet those candidates. It is very important to us.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Yes. On the other hand, may I respectfully suggest to you that if they are serious candidates, they are going to be very, very busy getting to know you. But we will make sure that all of the candidates that are forthcoming are introduced and are well known to the delegates.

I now call upon the Chairperson of the Human Rights Committee for a report.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE REPORT

MS. H. PLAMONDON (Human Rights Committee Chairperson): Please take Document No. 26, Policy Paper on Human Rights. This policy statement is being submitted by the Executive Council of the CLC, which covers the three resolutions on human rights that were forwarded to the CLC.

STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

"'We are thankful for these and all the good things of life. We recognize that they are part of our common heritage and come to us through the efforts of our brothers and sisters the world over. What we desire for ourselves we wish for all. To this end may we take our share in the world's work and the world's struggles.'

J.S. Woodsworth, *Grace before Meat*

"More than sixty years after these now familiar words were first uttered, they remain an eloquent and simple statement of fundamental human rights. Their basic truth endures; their vision is constant.

"In the broadest sense, the advancement of the human family — men, women and children — is what our concern for human rights is all about. Equality, social justice and dignity for all, are the underpinnings of this concern.

"At the same time, we recognize that some members of the human family, more than others, have been and continue to be victimized by racism and discrimination. Their problems deserve special attention.

"The trade union movement in Canada has fought to build a society in which all Canadians could have equality of opportunity, the economic security and social well-being required to enjoy fundamental rights. This task remains unfinished despite many achievements.

"Our efforts have focused mainly on gaining a measure of economic security for our members and, by extension, all working people. Through the twin levers of collective bargaining and legislative reform, we have improved wages and working conditions, raised minimum labour standards, developed workers' compensation and unemployment insurance, introduced public and private pension plans and promoted better health and safety in the workplace. Discrimination in the workplace in relation to hiring, training and promotion has also been lessened significantly.

"We have also played a significant role in developing and preserving medicare, community health centres, affordable housing, the co-operative movement, a variety of social welfare measures and human rights legislation across this country. Each of these progressive initiatives has contributed to a fairer, more compassionate society and the protection of human rights.

"As has been amply demonstrated by deteriorating economic conditions however, the social fabric that has been gradually and carefully weaved over the past fifty years is extremely fragile. Too many governments, supported by powerful corporate interests, are prepared to tear it apart.

"In the midst of Canada's relative wealth, the dismal reality of poverty, the working poor, youth unemployment and rejection of the elderly, remain.

"Groups and individuals still feel alienated from the main stream of Canadian society. The systemic barriers that confront women, natives, visible minorities, the disabled, new immigrants, ex-offenders, homosexuels and so on, sadly persist. Indeed, people who fall into more than one of these groups could be said to face an imposing 'double' barrier.

"Probably because of our own on-going struggle for recognition in Canadian society, the labour movement has identified strongly with the disadvantaged who also seek equality of opportunity and treatment for themselves. Certainly, this affinity has been visibly evident in B.C.'s Operation Solidarity and its courageous resistance to the Socred government's determined assault on trade union and human rights.

"The Canadian Labour Congress, as a supporter of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, reaffirms the principle of non-discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and before the law. We declare our absolute opposition to any distinction, exclusion or preference made on the basis of race, colour, sex, religion, political opinion, national or ethnic origin, age, disability, sexual orientation or conviction for an offence for which a pardon has been granted, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment in employment or all social, cultural, economic, civic and policital fields.

"Declarations alone however will not be sufficient. Lofty rhetoric, even when enshrined in a constitution, will not by itself, ensure the realization of human rights for all in Canada. Only timely, positive, constructive action which gives substance to words, can consolidate a truly democratic society.

"The current attack on workers, their incomes and job security and on public services and social welfare programs are symptoms of a virus that threatens to infect every Canadian, but particularly those least able to defend themselves.

"During tough economic times, the very times when working people cannot afford to be divided, scapegoats are often sought and harassed. Instead of tension and division, unity and solidarity are required to challenge a system that is responsible for mounting economic and social ills such as inadequate housing, jobs, education and social services.

"Trade union resolve to reverse the prevailing anti-workers, anti-union environment in Canada is an integral part of a broader campaign to further our collective development. A free, vigorous trade union movement is, in fact, essential to the enhancement of human rights. Consequently, the most important contribution that our movement can make to the overall defence of human rights is through its battle to defend and extend trade union rights.

"But, it is not the only contribution we can and should make. The battle must be waged on many fronts simultaneously.

"The range of issues that must be addressed is both impressive and challenging. It runs from implementation and enforcement of equal pay for work of equal value to preservation of basic civil liberties as exemplified in the debate over a new Canadian Security Intelligence Service. It includes freedom of speech and political opinion for government employees and an immigration policy that is free from discrimination and supports entry into Canada on humanitarian grounds such as family reunification and refugee flight from political upheaval. It also encompasses affirmative action programs targeted to groups that have been systematically excluded from full participation in Canadian life.

"Disabled people are increasingly and rightfully insisting on escape from over-protection and charity that has robbed them of their dignity.

"Native people — Indians, Metis and Inuit — demand a reversal of a history of neglect and mistreatment, indicators of which include high infant mortality, low incomes, high unemployment, poor housing and health care and high levels of incarceration. They properly seek a greater measure of self-determination, of control over important institutions such as education while sharing in the socio-economic development of the country as a whole.

"Visible racial minorities similarly deny that the colour of their skins, their religious practices or their national and ethnic origins should be allowed to stand in the way of their opportunities.

"Women, who comprise 51 per cent of the population, continue to exert pressure to break out of traditional, low paid job ghettoes as well as to direct attention towards their special needs and concerns, e.g. sexual harassment, maternity leave and child care.

"What all of these groups and others have in common is a determination to partake of the benefits Canada has to offer now and in the future. Equality of access is the key to unlocking their aspirations. Access to elected offices at all levels, to the judicial system and police forces, to fair representation in the media, to decent jobs, to adequate housing and health care — in short, to all the things that many Canadians take for granted.

"Affirmative action programs are valuable tools to use in overcoming entrenched patterns of discrimination. We define affirmative action to be:

> "'Any program designed to remedy under-representation of minority and disadvantaged groups in employment, training or career development where that under-representation is the result of an historical pattern of calculated discrimination or merely the historical neglect, apathy and sterotyped attitudes of the majority.'

"The 1976 CLC Constitutional Convention approved a major statement on Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers. Article 1(2) of this statement declares that 'positive special treatment during a transitional period aimed at effective equality between the sexes shall not be regarded as discriminatory'. In the spirit of reaffirming the principle of equal opportunity for all workers, we must apply the same logic to all groups who meet the test of affirmative action as defined above.

"As to the concept of legislated affirmative action, our endorsement is dependent upon recognition of the legitimate role of trade unions and collective bargaining in the implementation of programs.

"Despite the array of difficulties that has beset the labour movement in recent years, we have not shirked our responsibility to actively address human rights issues.

"The CLC presented a submission and coordinated labour's input to the Abella Commission on Equality in Employment (in eleven federal Crown Corporations). It also presented a brief to the House of Commons Special Committee on Visible Minorities. In January 1983, the CLC together with some of its affiliated organizations and the Council of National Ethnocultural Organizations of Canada sponsored a conference on 'Multiculturalism in the Workplace: Problems and Opportunities'.

"Before, during and since the debate over our patriated Constitution, the CLC urged the long overdue recognition of aboriginal rights by all Canadian governments.

"We commend the Ontario Federation of Labour's 'Racism Hurts Everyone' campaign. This is an especially relevant undertaking since racist sentiment tends to increase during periods of economic crisis and high unemployment. Likewise, we applaud the efforts of the B.C. Federation of Labour and its attempt to prevent the dismantling of the human rights apparatus in that province.

"We are active at all levels of the labour movement. If complacency has set in as a result, for example, of human rights bills and commissions being enacted in virtually every jurisdiction across Canada, then surely it has been dislodged by events over the past few years. Wherever arbitrariness and prejudice exist, we have a job to do.

"Towards a more effective labour voice we urge the involvement of affiliated unions, locals, federations of labour and labour councils around the following points:

1. Greater legal protection for Canadians through human rights legislation, strict enforcement and stiff penalties for violations;
2. More resources for human rights commissions to carry out their mandate rather than spending restraints that frustrate their effectiveness;
3. A nation-wide campaign modelled on the OFL experience against racism and discrimination with emphasis on public and workplace education;
4. Legislated, mandatory affirmative action programs with government use of contract compliance to reinforce their implementation;
5. Legislated and enforced 'equal pay for work of equal value' provisions;
6. Affirmative action for members of disadvantaged and minority groups on bargaining committees;
7. Review of seniority provisions in collective agreements to ensure that they are not an impediment to affirmative action;
8. Internal education programs aimed at informing members about human rights matters.

"Particularly in view of the recent publicity it has received, the treatment of Canadians of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War cannot be ignored here. As is well known, thousands of these innocent people were deprived of their freedom, placed in internment camps and had their lands and possessions confiscated without substantive cause and without compensation. At a minimum we demand that the Canadian government officially and publicly apologize for this national disgrace. Beyond that, we demand the government redress the loss of property and the suffering of the Japanese Canadians affected, by way of a mutually agreed upon formula worked out with representatives of those citizens who were so grieviously wronged.

"These demands are appropriate because they are right. Moreover, they keep the faith with those trade unionists and civil libertarians who, with the courage of their convictions, spoke out against an overwhelming majority, in opposition to the treatment of Japanese Canadians. Those who have followed their example took a similarly unpopular stand in 1970 against the imposition of the War Measures Act. Today, we have a duty to respect their integrity and leadership.

"The labour movement can be proud of its record in relation to human rights. But now is no time to rest on our laurels. Until all men, women and children in Canada and around the world, can genuinely feel a part of a large human family which enjoys peace, freedom and justice, our efforts must not end."

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): What is your pleasure on Document 26?

MR. A. HERSHKOVITZ (UFCW, Local 82) (Co-Chairman of the Human Rights Committee, Ontario Federation of Labour): I am very impressed by the report that was submitted but I think we cannot pass a statement such as this without some comment. Unless we recognize and speak up on these very important propositions that have been put forward, then we really don't mean it. I think every delegate to this Convention must recognize one thing: unless we have an effective human rights program put forward and pushed by the Canadian Labour Congress, all the resolutions that we may be passing during the time of this Convention will be in vain. Because one thing is certain: employers, managements know that their best weapon against the labour movement, the best weapon they can use to undermine the conditions that we have won and we fight for, is to divide the ranks of our people.

I am very proud of the fact that the Ontario Federation of Labour launched its campaign on the basis that racism hurts everyone. Now we are in the midst of a campaign to educate the worker on the job floor, because we recognize that, unless that is done, the gains that we have obtained are not secure. I think the OFL will be prepared to work with other federations in its new program, and so I suggest we take cognizance of the effects of the problem, and that we work together to enforce this basically as a charter of rights of the human race, a charter of rights for Canadian men and women in the work force and for Canadian men and women.

MR. W. YEAMAN (ECWU, Local 11): While I endorse the resolution, I would like to point out that, in the first part of the resolution, reference was made to disabled people, and, as you can see, I carry what we commonly term as a slate and stylus. I also on many occasions wear a very large badge that was issued last year, and the badge reads "We are able, not disabled". We are just slightly handicapped.

MR. W. JARVIE (UFAWU, Local 8): There seems to be nobody on the contrary mikes and that is an obvious fact. This statement is an excellent statement and should be accepted by all. But like the previous brother, I think it should not pass without comment. The application of the principles stated herein is a job of the individual. What do we find in the plants in the situations of work today? We agree with these things when we come to conventions and do we personally and individually apply these principles? I think we do not. I challenge the delegates to this Convention when they go back to their own work place, to recognize the fact that their individual acceptance and administration of these principles is the only thing that is going to make it work. I work in an industry which has various large visible minorities. We have ethnic groups of Japanese, East Indian, Native Indian, Scottish like myself and various ethnic groups; and we see continuous effort by employers and management to separate the workers by putting pressure on these different minority groups. We have tacit agreement by some of the majority of the workers because of the circumstances surrounding them; they see these minorities being subjected to various abuses and, by not doing anything at a particular time, not taking any stand, they actually agree with them. So we can agree with these principles, we can pass them and then go home and forget them and we will have done nothing. We must apply these principles in the work place continuously.

MS. G. LEBANS (CUPE, Local 2497): We, in the labour movement, have stated correctly that the struggle against racism is in the interest of all working people. Racism is used to divide us, eroding our bargaining power, our ability to organize in our interest. It is used still to pay lower wages to workers on the basis of colour, depressing the wages of all workers. A public education campaign, focusing on the structural roots of racism, the way it is used against all working people and the concrete steps which must be taken to fight it, is important. The statement acknowledges that our efforts cannot be limited, however, to education. As the statement suggests, there are definite links between the historical and current situation of women and that of the visible minorities and native people. The strong measures, notably lobbying for mandatory legislative affirmative action programs which we have begun to take against sexism, must also be taken to fight racism. The statement makes clear that the time is now.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. Thank you. Anybody else? If not, all those in favour of the adoption of the report of the Committee, please signify by raising their right hand. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered, with our thanks to the Committee.

This Convention now stands adjourned until two p.m. sharp.

(The Convention adjourned for lunch at 12:25 p.m.)

MONDAY, MAY 28, 1984
Afternoon Session

CLC President Dennis McDermott called the Convention to order at 2:15 p.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Delegates should turn to Document No. 23, the Economic Policy Statement of the Executive Council. Preceding the document, we are going to have a three- to four-minute video presentation. Everybody please settle down.

ECONOMIC POLICY FILM

"If the Canadian economy has slumped more than in practically any other industrialized country over the past years, it was not by accident, for the slowdown was planned. The Government of Canada took advantage of the world-wide crisis to control wages, an objective it had been pursuing for a long time.

"And it worked. By allowing unemployment to rise to a level unprecedented since the depression of the Thirties, the government let salaries lag behind inflation over several consecutive years. Our system of collective bargaining has been attacked by employers who demanded concessions and by governments who imposed wage controls. All this under the pretext of improving the competitiveness of Canadian products on international markets.

"Only a government that cares little about the well-being of workers and their families could conceive such a cynical strategy. Even now, in a period of so-called economic recovery, nearly two million Canadians are jobless. At what expense in human terms? Illness through worry, loss of home, broken marriage, alcoholism, an increased suicide rate, such are the consequences of the government's cruel policies.

"But unions have counter-attacked; coalitions with other victims of governments were formed. As a result, the Canadian public is now more aware than ever of the labour movement's economic policies. These policies call for job creation, a lowering of interest rates, a national industrial strategy and fairer taxation. Through working to preserve basic rights, such as collective bargaining and adequate social programs, trade unions also tried to maintain personal income — an essential ingredient to any economic recovery. These are policies which will further the interests of all working Canadians, but they will have to be pursued even more aggressively in the future. We need further efforts to unite the victims and fight back.

"As Emile Vallée, a member of the Economic Policy Committee, explains: 'Our real priority is to mobilize all resources and energies at our disposal towards a true economic recovery, a recovery that would bring about a decline in unemployment and create jobs. It is our duty to unite the victims of recession and to set up a coalition of workers — both men and women — of consumers, farmers, small business people, church groups, pensioners, in short, all those who are victimized by the recession; if we do not set up such a coalition, the big financial interests will keep on having the upper hand and unemployment will remain as high as formerly.'

"Yes, we can fight back. It will be a long struggle, but, with renewed faith in the power of collective action, we can succeed.

"Now the Economic Policy Committee will present its statement entitled: *United towards a working recovery*."

MR. D. MARTIN (Economic Policy Committee Chairman): The Document 23 is being presented on behalf of the Executive Council and covers Resolutions Ec-2, 4, 6, 12, 15-21, 25, 26, 30-32, 34, 38, 41, 59, 62, 70, 74-77, 79, 88, 93-96 and 99.

UNITED TOWARDS A WORKING RECOVERY

"Four years ago we said that 'the battle of the trade union movement in the 80's will be for trade union rights vs. corporate power.' Two years ago we committed ourselves to 'lead the resistance to a slide into Depression.'

"In 1984 we come together with the experience of the deepest and longest depression in 50 years and with the knowledge that governments and corporations have tried to use that depression to weaken and destroy the trade union movement.

"We can be proud of the fact that we have stood firm against right wing governments and their friends and that we have defended those who were not able to defend themselves. We have not always won, but we have continued the battle.

"Now, in 1984, it is time to reaffirm our commitment to this battle for jobs and rights and to state again our determination not to let our enemies take away all that we have fought for.

"Now, more than ever, the future of Canada depends on a united and determined labour movement. For against the right wing government and their big business friends there is now no one, except us, who can fight back.

Canada's Depression and the Phantom Recovery

"Governments tell us the depression we have seen in Canada was beyond their control. But it's been worse here than in any other major country. And the reason is not hard to find.

"Ever since 1975, when the federal government went back on its own promises and brought in wage controls, it has followed policies designed to prevent workers from getting their fair share of the nation's wealth — cuts in basic programs, tax changes which shifted burdens away from wealthy corporations and individuals and onto low and middle income people, high interest rates which have choked off economic recovery, a new round of wage controls in the public sector and a depression which has led to layoffs and to widespread demands for wage concessions in both the public and private sectors.

"Governments have been told by the business community to make inflation their first concern. They have been willing to sacrifice jobs and the future of Canadian workers because they have had no other priority but to fight inflation and no other way to fight inflation but on the backs of workers.

"Governments and business would have us believe that these policies have worked and that the depression is now over. They point to increased profits, higher production, lower inflation.

"But for workers, for the unemployed, for the poor, for many others, the depression is not over. Increasingly, there are signs that we are on the verge of another slump.

"Workers' real earnings continue to fall. Today, on average, workers would need over $39 a week more just to be where they were in late 1976.

"This spring, official rates of unemployment were above 11 per cent and rising. About two million Canadians are jobless, after a year of so-called 'recovery'. Large numbers exhaust their Unemployment Insurance benefits every month, with no jobs to go to.

"OFFICIAL" UNEMPLOYMENT

Annual Averages	Thousands of Persons	
	Total	Youth
1971-1975	561	261
1976-1980	837	393
1981	898	407
1982	1,314	555
1983	1,448	579
	Per Cent Unemployed	
1971-1975	6.0	10.6
1976-1980	7.7	13.5
1981	7.5	13.2
1982	11.0	18.8
1983	11.9	19.9

Source: Statistics Canada

"More and more jobs are disappearing because of technological change and industrial restructuring. Many of the lost jobs are highly skilled, well paid, satisfying. But the new jobs, where there are any, are poorly paid, unskilled, with little job satisfaction and less security. Most of these new jobs are non-unionized; workers have few rights. Many of the jobs are part-time. More and more women are being isolated in these poor jobs, with little hope for any improvement.

"'There is nothing "normal" or "natural" about present unemployment rates. Indeed, massive unemployment which deprives people of the dignity of human work and an adequate family income, constitutes a social evil. It is also a major economic problem since high unemployment rates are accompanied by lower productivity, lower consumption of products, reduced public revenues, and increasing social welfare costs. Thus alternative strategies are required which place primary emphasis on the goals of combatting unemployment by stimulating production and permanent job creation in basic industries: developing a more balanced and equitable program for curbing inflation; and maintaining health care, social security and special assistance programs.'

Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis,
CANADIAN CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, 1983

"High interest rates, one of the elements of our economic sickness, continue to be at the heart of government economic policy. Collective bargaining rights are still under attack, everywhere. Even when formal controls have ended, attacks on basic rights continue in other ways.

"Bread lines and soup kitchens are becoming the mark of the 1980s, as they were in the 1930s.

"In 1982 the number classed officially as poor, according to even the most conservative definition of poverty, grew by half a million. Many of these were elderly; many were women, many were working poor, working at or just above the minimum wage, with little or no job security and no collective bargaining rights.

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS IN POVERTY

	Total	Children Under 16	Total as a Per Cent of Population
	000's		
1980	3,475	896	15.1
1981	3,495	969	14.7
1982	4,100 E	1,090 E	16.8

Source: Statistics Canada; E: Estimates by CLC

"The need for full employment policies has never been greater, but governments at all levels have abandoned any commitment to it.

"'The economists I have consulted tell me, if you get between seven and eight per cent in the foreseeable future, you'll be a real hero.'

FINANCE MINISTER MARC LALONDE, April 1983, on unemployment.

"Workers are told that they must lose their jobs to make the economy healthy, that the move toward a safer workplace must be put off, that making women truly equal in the workplace must be delayed; public sector workers see their basic collective bargaining rights swept away. The poor are told that unmet social needs must be deferred since government spending must be cut. We are told that to be competitive in international markets we must lower our standard of living. We are told that all of this is inevitable and, in the long run, in our own best interests. In each case the logic is the same; corporate profits, and business confidence, are all that matter, and any group, any program, any right will be sacrificed to maintain them.

"It is possible that the present policies will help the corporate sector to maintain its profits. But there is absolutely no guarantee that workers and others who are being forced to make these sacrifices will see any improvements in their living standards in the future.

The Road to a Divided Society

“ ‘There is something fundamentally wrong with a system which intentionally creates unemployment and suffering in order to solve its economic problems . . . eventually a society which operates in this way will begin to lose the loyalty of its citizens. . . . Indeed, it is not clear how an economy can be healthy when the working men and women who are in the majority are not economically healthy. We will only have progress if we have the kind of social peace that comes from people feeling they have a stake in the society in which they live. For increasing numbers of people, especially young people, this assumption has begun to break down.’

CLC BRIEF TO MACDONALD COMMISSION, December 1983

“Trade unions and other progressive organizations, working with our political allies, have fought for, and gained, some protection from the worst features of a system built on private profit and private wealth. By so doing, they have been able to provide protection to those others in society who cannot defend themselves.

“Now right wing governments and their business friends are trying to turn the clock back, to a system Canadians have tried and rejected.

“If they succeed, we will return to a society where the market decides on needs, where the weak will be at the mercy of the strong and where only the rich and powerful will be secure. More and more people will feel they have no stake in Canada's future. In short, a divided society.

The Commitment of the Trade Unions

“The labour movement has summarized its economic recovery program in terms of four rights:

- **THE RIGHT TO A SECURE JOB**
- **THE RIGHT TO A DECENT INCOME**
- **THE RIGHT TO NEEDED PUBLIC SERVICES**
- **THE RIGHT TO FREE AND FAIR COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**

There are the moral standards by which to judge a fair society.

“Such a society would put **FULL EMPLOYMENT** — a secure job for everyone who wants one — at the heart of economic policy. Full employment, with full and equal opportunities and pay for women and men, is the economic basis of a fair society and the most basic challenge possible to the continuation of corporate power and privilege.

“Full employment policies would raise the productivity of our economy. They would mean that Canadian workers would begin to share in the benefits of increased productivity in better wages, shorter work time and improved pensions. Higher wages and better pensions have been long term goals of the trade union movement and will remain so. A shorter work year, paid education leave, reduced hours of work, earlier retirement an other ways of reducing work time must also be a central goal of the trade union movement in years to come.

“We are committed to **PRESERVING BASIC RIGHTS**. We reject the notion pushed by conservative economists that there is a trade-off between fairness and efficiency. We have seen the result of that idea with the steepest depression in half a century. Only a fair society is an efficient one.

“We are committed to **SOCIAL SOLIDARITY**, an alliance between all those who have been victimized by the depression and who are ready to come together around a program to challenge corporate power and to replace it with a fairer and more efficient system.

“In the struggle for a more progressive society, we must enlist partners. The poor, the elderly, youth, women, native peoples, farmers, fishermen, small business people, church groups, organized and unorganized workers, public and private sector workers — all of them and more are coming to a realization that battles fought alone are usually battles lost.

“We are committed to an active interventionist government. We reject the idea that the private sector must be the only source of our progress and we reject the idea that social and economic priorities must be decided primarily on the basis of private profit.

“ ‘This option calls for economic policies which realize that the needs of the poor have priority over the wants of the rich; that the rights of workers are more important than the maximization of profits; that the participation of marginalized groups has precedence over the preservation of a system which excludes them.’

Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis
CANADIAN CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, 1983

United Toward a Working Recovery — Labour's Economic Program

1. Labour's Battle for Jobs

Full Employment and Economic Stimulation

“Full employment cannot be traded off for another social goal. A high unemployment society is not acceptable, nor are political parties which are willing to tolerate it.

“Our first priority must be to work towards the election of governments at all levels which see full employment as their number one goal.

“In Canada, there is no shortage of work to be done, but there is a shortage of jobs. The first step toward full employment must be a major public investment program in socially needed areas, such as co-op, low income and non-profit housing; improvements in urban transit; investments in rail facilities and marine transportation; hospitals, schools and public recreation facilities; sewage disposal and water treatment; major reforestation and conservation programs in all areas which depend on the forest for jobs; research and investment in pollution equipment and in ways to control acid rain.

“Government must take responsibility for protecting workers and their communities from companies that move their operations simply to increase profits or to escape unionization, or to introduce technological changes without consulting their employees. Before major layoffs can take place, companies must justify their decision. This means an opening of the books; it means adequate notice provisions, adequate compensation for retraining, relocation, severance pay and compensation to the community affected. It means, as well, that the collective bargaining system must be strengthened so that changes cannot take place without negotiation with the union involved.

“New bankruptcy laws, incorporating a Wage Protection Fund, should be enacted, to give workers more protection against business failures over which they have no control.

Lower Interest Rates

“Canadians have seen the devastation of high interest rates. Homes have been lost, farms repossessed, businesses forced into bankruptcy and untold jobs wiped out.

“Governments must abandon high interest rates and the monetarist dogma behind them and begin to use monetary policy to create jobs, not choke off economic recovery.

“The Minister of Finance should instruct the Governor of the Bank of Canada to lower real interest rates and place controls on the spreads between key interest rates charged and paid by banks and other financial institutions. To prevent speculative runs on the Canadian dollar, exchange controls should be imposed on large capital outflows.

“As part of its strategy to have the necessary financial tools available, the government should put controls on the investment activities of the banks and other financial institutions. This should include taking the banking community into public ownership.

Tax Reform

"We cannot have recovery without major tax reform.

"Tax concessions to private companies have been the basis of government economic policy in recent years. The result of this is higher tax rates for low and middle income Canadians. Just as serious, such a tax policy gives away to the corporations all the major decisions on investment in Canada — decisions which affect all Canadians, and over which we should have some control.

"Tax rates at the bottom end of the income scale should be lowered and those at the top end increased. Raising taxes on unearned income, capital gains and speculative profits would make the tax system fairer and stimulate economic recovery. This would mean repealing the tax increases announced in the 1983 federal budget and a complete reform of the tax system so that taxation is truly progressive and based on the principles of equity and justice as proposed in the Carter Royal Commission Report. There should be a major review of the way workers' wages are taxed, with a view to lowering tax rates on wages and workers' benefits and raising taxes on unearned income, capital gains and speculative profits.

"The non-accountable tax breaks in the corporate tax system should be replaced by an accountable system of grants tied to actual performance in creating jobs. The public should be given an equity position in return for contributions. Companies which move their plant simply to increase profits, or those that relocate to avoid unionization, would be forced to repay grants to the Canadian people.

SHARES OF TOTAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE FROM DIRECT TAXATION

	Per Cent	
	Persons	**Corporations**
1950	27	29
1955	33	25
1960	39	20
1965	37	19
1970	49	15
1975	49	17
1980	47	18
1981	45	15
1982	50	12
1983	51	14

Source: STATISTICS CANADA

Saving Our Industries and Jobs

"Canada needs an industrial strategy that is tied to rebuilding our manufacturing base. To do this we need public control of the investment process.

"Corporations should be required by law to deposit 15 per cent of their pre-tax profits in a National Investment Fund. These contributions would be released to the corporation when they agreed to undertake investments that met the needs of the economy and which fit into the country's overall industrial strategy.

"To control corporate investment, we need a strengthened Foreign Investment Review Agency and strengthened corporate disclosure laws so that corporate planning is publicly accountable.

"No industrial strategy will work without skilled workers. But Canada does not have an active training policy or a strategy to ensure full and equal access to skilled jobs by women. What we have instead is a jumble of programs. At the same time, we have large numbers of unemployed, some of whom are highly educated, and shortages in some key skill areas, which have to be filled from outside the country. The federal government should encourage mobility by pushing for uniform standards for different trades across the country. A levy grant system, set up with the joint participation of labour, management, the educational institutions and governments, would encourage the training of women and men in the skills needed for economic growth.

"An industrial strategy based on using investment policy, tax laws and trade policy to upgrade our resource exports would result in more Canadian jobs in the processing industries. It would also stimulate the development of new industries to supply the processing machinery and other capital goods the resource industries would need.

2. Labour's Battle For Basic Rights

Defending Collective Bargaining

"The right to organize and bargain collectively is one of the most basic rights that Canadian workers have, but it has been under attack in recent years. If governments can take away this, no rights anywhere are safe.

"**The federal government should pledge that it will respect the collective bargaining rights of its own employees and will encourage provincial governments and private employers to do the same.**

"Governments must emphasize the right of all employees to civil rights in the workplace as a basic right guaranteed both under the Charter of Rights and the basic law of the United Nations. They should take the position that the best way to get basic rights in the workplace is to encourage trade unions in all workplaces.

Saving and Improving Social Programs

"If the fairness of our society is judged by the way we treat our aged then we live in a terribly unfair society.

"Old age in Canada brings with it a declining standard of living. Typically, older Canadians live on less than half of the income of people of working age; 60 per cent of widows and 50 per cent of widowers live below the poverty line, and over half our old people need to have their pension income supplemented by welfare type benefits in order to live.

"**We must demand that the government do what most Canadians want it to do — bring in a fair and adequate pension system.**

"Governments must stand up to big business, which opposes a decent public pension system. Income-tested welfare is no substitute for a good pension. The key to serious reform is a hefty increase in Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits — a move that labour, women's groups, retirees, and most progressive organizations have already endorsed.

"**Labour must fight to preserve the universal medicare system in Canada.**

"This involves a pledge to fight extra billing and user fees, and work to have them outlawed across the country. To make this pledge meaningful, the federal government must return to the 50/50 cost sharing approach to federal transfer payments to the provinces and abandon the block grant system which has caused so much trouble.

"Preserving social programs means opposing the erosion which has taken place in the welfare system in most provinces. This has meant cuts in the basic support available to those who have nowhere else to turn. In has meant people who have exhausted their Unemployment Insurance and have no jobs to go to are forced to live below the poverty line. Since the federal government contributes to these programs, it has a responsibility to see that they are not cut back when most needed, and beyond that, to see that public assistance levels are raised to a level above the poverty line.

"The federal government must pledge itself to preserve and extend the Unemployment Insurance system. A start would be to extend for another six months the UI benefits of the large number of people who exhaust their benefits each month.

3. International Solidarity

"Canadian workers will have nothing to do with a policy which keeps part of the world poor and in subjection. We know that Canadian prosperity cannot be built on impoverishing workers, either in Canada or anywhere.

"The federal government must pledge itself to an increase in foreign aid and target that aid to basic needs in underdeveloped countries.

"Canada must be ready to sign long term commodity agreements with third world exporting countries, with stable prices and quantities guaranteed.

"Through the ILO and ICFTU, we must work toward an international code of corporate conduct that would begin to force corporations to extend basic trade union rights and decent wages to their workers in less developed countries.

"Finally, Canadian workers must express direct solidarity with workers trying to change social and economic conditions in their own country and back up this solidarity with technical, legal and organizational help where it is needed.

The Task We Face

"Canadian workers have been victimized by the depression. All too often, we look to the future not with hope, but with fear and uncertainty.

"It doesn't have to be this way. We can fight back. A growing healthy economy, a society in which basic rights are protected — these go together and they are within our reach. To get them, we must be united and we must unite with others who have been victimized.

"Full employment, basic rights and social solidarity are all part of the same package.

"We are in a battle to move Canada away from the road to a divided society, toward a society which will be truly united and democratic.

"The time is short, the enemy is powerful, but with unity and determination we can do it."

On behalf of the Executive Council, Mr. Chairman, I move concurrence in this report; seconded by a member of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. The motion is to adopt the document. We will commence over here on mike No. 1.

MR. M. HURLEY (Ottawa and District Labour Council): I stand in opposition to the policy paper. I think that the policy paper is fuzzy. I think that we owe it to the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops to take a position which is perhaps more clearly aligned with them. And I think Resolution No. 38, which was submitted by the Manitoba Federation of Labour, is much more succinct. It asks us to call upon the government to stimulate the economy, stop cuts in public spending, lower interest rates, implement exchange controls, nationalize the banks, freeze defence spending, introduce price controls, expand public ownership, extend public services and reform government finances. That is a program that the members of the Ottawa and District Labour Council can comprehend in a very short space of time. I think that the other shortcoming of the document is the total absence of any action program. I think that it is critical, as the blows rain down on us across the country. I am sure there is not a local union in this room which has not had take-aways tabled during negotiations, which has not had members laid off — and that includes the public sector — plant closures, programs slashed, the right to strike withdrawn, wage controls imposed or, as has just happened in Alberta, basic union rights suspended by the Labour Board, or, as has happened in Saskatchewan, trade union legislation gutted. The future for us is very bleak unless we come out of this Convention with a fighting action program. And this document does not give it to us.

The only message that I have heard to take back to the affiliates of the Ottawa and District Labour Council is wait until the next provincial and federal elections. Unfortunately, that will not be sufficient. Local after local is losing members, is losing parts of their collective agreement, locals are losing their right to strike. I think it is imperative that we be a lot more succinct in terms of our fight-back program. I think that this Committee should take back this document and I think it is incumbent upon the Committee to come back to us and tell us how we will, as a labour movement, fight.

As a movement, we cannot allow ourselves to be wiped out. As a movement, we have to stand up and fight. Our backs are to the wall. The Committee should produce a fight-back program.

MR. W. TICKSON (Nanaimo-Duncan and District Labour Council): In British Columbia, they tell us that we have 15.7 per cent unemployed. My figures, of course, tell me something different. I think there is about one in four unemployed. The program advanced today here indicates to me the problem that we are faced with, and it puts forward a long-term program in order to bring about some measures of reforms. The long-term program may be of comfort to those who want to wait that long, but I do not need to be told that there are 15.7 per cent unemployed by the Canadian government. I feel the bloody thing, and thousands of unemployed around me feel the unemployment.

They feel the misery that we are in. What we need to do here is to develop, in addition to this, a program to take care of our immediate needs, such as: we need to reduce the hours of work immediately in order to put people back to work. I do not know whether we should argue whether it should be 30 hours or 32 hours. Let us reduce it enough so that there will be enough jobs to go around so that we can sell our labour power at the highest price possible. When there is a surplus of labour power, we do not get the price that it is worth. So it is necessary, at this stage, to create a shortage of labour power. What is needed is that unemployment insurance be paid for the full term of unemployment, not argue how many weeks that we have to qualify or how many weeks we should not have. What we want is coverage for full period of unemployment. It is absolutely necessary that there be an increase in the unemployment insurance and welfare up to or maybe at the poverty level or above that. At this stage, unemployment insurance and welfare do not pay enough to keep body and soul together. We are below the poverty line and we should not accept that. I think it is absolutely necessary to mobilize, in order to defeat that bloody approach of the government so that we develop a standard of living to maintain body and soul together the way we are accustomed to.

With 25 per cent of the workers in British Columbia unemployed, at least in my area, there is a drive for jobs by the unemployed. They are seeking to take sub-standard rates, make-work projects that pay them less than the unemployment insurance which has expired. It is necessary at this stage to put an end to it by mobilizing a solidarity movement such as we had started in British Columbia, that would extend from Vancouver Island to Newfoundland, in order to be able to fight back this attack on the standards of living. I think it is necessary that this Congress undertake an organization of a solidarity movement like this country has never seen before. And then we will put an end to this one in four unemployment and put people back to work.

MS. J. THORKELSON (UFAWU, Local 31): I am also President of the Prince Rupert Labour Council, and in my opinion, unemployment is probably the largest issue that we have facing us to debate in this Congress today. In Prince Rupert, we have at present over 35 per cent unemployment and we have had that for the past year-and-a-half. This document will not answer the needs of those unemployed people in Prince Rupert; it will not answer the needs of the unemployed people in B.C. or in any of the other provinces or territories of Canada. Unemployment is an issue that we cannot ignore while we stand and wait for our government to be elected, who want unemployment or full employment to be their first priority. Supposedly we have such a government in British Columbia. Bill Bennett, the Socred, is coming down with anti-labour legislation, unseen and unheard of in B.C. and certainly across this country before the depression. Bill Bennett ran on a program of full employment. We have not received full employment but many people were fooled into believing that the right wing, that big business was going to bring us full employment in B.C. And that has not happened. Our employment situation is getting worse in British Columbia, although businesses are doing better.

In British Columbia, we have a government that is developing a coal terminal to exploit a grand new coal field at below market or profitability prices that the citizens of British Columbia are going to have to pay for. We are closing down coal mines in south-eastern B.C. That great big coal port of ours has gone non-union because this government, federally, and the provincial government wish it to go non-union, and that has provided us 60 full-time jobs. The great grain elevator in Prince Rupert, the most modern grain elevator in the world, is going to have a net loss of 70 jobs. And the Ridlex Island coal terminal is not going to go down the tube; it is recovering. The grain consortium is not going down the tube; it is recovering. Our mill in Prince Rupert used to employ over 700 people; it now employs 400 people. The pulp mill workers have been locked out. Our mill in Prince Rupert is profitable, the pulp industry is profitable, but those 300 people that have been out of work for two years have lost their houses, and where are they going to go in this wonderful country of ours to try to find another job in the pulp industry? B.C. Packers, the largest fish plant, a monopoly on the coast of British Columbia, in 1982 in the worst time of the depression, nationally, invested $15 million to consolidate its plant in Prince Rupert, and we lost 700 jobs. It is profitable, it is more profitable today than it ever has been. That is recovery but recovery for whom, brothers and sisters?

We need a program of action that we can take back to our members, a program of action that sets out, point by point, a national, provincial and community program where we are going to be employed, we are going to recover, and not B.C. Packers, Westin, B.C. Timber, the coal port, the grain terminals, and all of those other profitable industries in Prince Rupert, where we have 30 per cent unemployment.

MR. A. HERSHKOVITZ (UFCW, Local 82): The last speaker has elaborated on the problem, a problem which has been presented in this document. Here we have a program, an evalaution and an appreciation of the very things that have been declared at microphone 1 and microphone 3. Surely, if we understand and accept — and I assume that we all do understand the problems that we have been faced with — the President of this Convention in his initial address outlined these problems. There was no cynicism but it was a declaration of what the working class of Canada is going through.

Now, this program that has been put forward to us is not one that will give you point by point by point, because in every area that we are living in, we are faced with different problems. One of the basic problems that we are faced with, is we have governments that we must fight. We have governments that have a total disregard for the needs of the people. We have governments who have made up their mind that they are going to ride roughshod over the people of Canada.

And, to some degree, we had governments that were fighting for the very things that we stand for. Whether we like it or not, we have to recognize that it was only under these New Democratic governments that we enjoyed the privileges and benefits that we have had. Unless we fight for these very things and unless we prepare our membership to fight for these very programs that have been put forward, remember this is only the second paper that has been put forward to this Convention, there are other papers that are presenting ways and means. And unless we recognize that there must be absolute unity and understanding and appreciation and the determination that we're going to fight for the things that have been presented in this paper and the things that will be presented in the other papers, then we will not gain the things that we are fighting for, that speakers at mike 1 and mike 3 have put forward.

It hurts when thousands of workers lose jobs. It hurts when thousands of workers lose homes. It hurts when children go hungry. But we have got to recognize that there is a long road ahead and we have to prepare for that road and we have to mobilize and work towards this goal. If we recognize that the program put forward now is a guide to that action — no one can give you an absolute picture as to what exactly must be done — one thing is certain, we have to set our goals to fight for the things that are put forward in these programs. I think if we join hands and work together to enact and carry out the programs that have been put forward at this Convention, then we will win, then we will elect governments and, yes, we must have governments in there that will carry out the will of the people and the will of the working class.

MR. W. CHEDORE (CUPW, Vice-President): I am not going to attack the document for what is in it. I am opposed to the document as it is because I am a little put out as to what is not in the document. There were several points brought up by a couple of the previous speakers on this particular document. As I went through it, I also compared it to a document that was put out at the last CLC Convention and, in some ways, it is similar in nature. But the only thing that is not in this document is a call for some type of action and mobilization at the grassroots level in this labour movement. If you look at it, there is a whole section that talks about mobilizing the labour movement. And in that document, you are talking about getting together at the grassroots level, at the community level; you are talking about a promise by a provincial political action campaign, you are talking about a nation-wide action to inform Canadians of the state of the economy and to press labour's positions, not only the labour movement itself but within the communities, the social groups and others, to organize, to have some type of fight-back campaign. That is not in this document now, and that is very sad, because during the opening addresses, we talked about the times that we are in now.

There is a hell of a lot of people out there now looking for some type of leadership to get something done to try to fight back the governments, the employers, that are taking away; and are creating unemployment in this country; and they are looking for some type of leadership to take them on. I don't think anybody should stand up here and say that we have to wait and get them at the ballot box. That is a fine ideal, you can do it if you can. At some point in time down the road, that's fine. But people are looking for something right now. They are not interested in what is going to happen three years, six years down the road.

Also, if you will look in your kits, you will find out that there is a paper coming up later on, I think this afternoon, from the Technology Committee, which deals with a shorter work week. Now, to me, the Economic Policy Statement coming out of the CLC is probably the most important document that this Convention has to deal with. This is the document that actually gets the media coverage, this is a document where we are giving a message to the employers, to the provincial governments, to the federal government. This is the document, the main one. But there is nothing in this document that says that we had something back in 1980 which stated that we should vote and organize a national campaign for a shorter work week, for instance. Although the recommendation coming from the Technology Committee deals with that point, we should be consistent, and incude it in this. It should be part of a national strategy, a national campaign. There is nothing more important than that now. And as you were mentioning this morning, Brother Chairman, that fight is now going on in Germany and in The Netherlands, is being taken on by millions of workers now, and is something to try to deal with in part with the unemployment rate. So we should be going out organizing nationally as a campaign within the labour movement to see that that happens. And that was not included in the document.

I do not think we are headed for lobbying governments, I do not think people care about going and lobbying your federal Minister, lobbying your provincial Minister. We are not in a social democratic country unfortunately. That is the reality of life. But people are looking to try to find something to grasp on to, that they can go out and say, here we are doing something, we are mobilizing the people in the labour movement, we want to fight back, we want to tell people that there should be more jobs created, we want to tell people that there should be cases where the government does something about these large corporations that are taking all the resources out of Canada and not investing anything back to save and create jobs for Canadian workers. We have to have a program of action. I would hope that somebody would actually refer this back to Committee so that they come back with some of the actions that are included in this policy paper from last time and to come out with a strong statement to say we are going to organize a national campaign for a shorter work week and make sure people out there know what the labour movement in this country stands for.

MR. A. KUBE (President, B.C. Federation of Labour): I rise in support of the document. I think this document commits itself to the question of full employment and basically outlines some of the things which have to be done to bring about full employment. It also destroys the myth that the private sector is the engine to economic recovery in this country. I would like to point out to the delegates that in the province of Manitoba, with increased public sector expenditures, we have the lowest unemployment in Canada. In the province with a decreased public expenditures, we have the highest increase in unemployment in Canada, namely British Columbia. We have been looking for a good number of years to see if the private sector can provide the jobs. We gave them tax incentives, we gave them everything else, but the only thing they followed up with is more unemployment and more layoffs.

What is important in this document here is that we make a commitment of social solidarity. We are saying to the people on public assistance and to the unemployed: not only are we going to push this government to bring about economic policies which will increase jobs, but we are committed to a social wage above the poverty level, and that is important if we want to have social solidarity with the people.

Something which is also very important is that we are moving on the question of either the reduced work week or the reduced work year. And, hopefully, when the technological change statement come in, we are going to debate it much further. Because I think that if we fight for shorter hours, I think if we stop working overtime, we can create more jobs and create those very quickly.

What we have to do is go to the people who are the victims of the system and declare solidarity with them and organize them to create the political will to bring about the structural changes, to bring about full employment.

I am not that really hung up that we have to work at all times; if technology is creating all this wealth, then I think we have to redistribute work, we should be able to make a greater cultural contribution. We should not be solely slaves to work, because I could do with a shorter work week, but quite often it is a question of income with a great number of the people. I hope the day has come for the Canadian government to move on the question of paid educational leave. And also one thing in this document which I think is good and should be stressed is the massive investment in human resource development. If our members are to cope effectively with technological change, there has to be more money spent on education. Every time you spend a billion dollars on education in this country, you are creating 187,000 jobs. Maybe what we should do instead of spending billions of dollars on defence, which only creates about 70,000 jobs, spend all that money on human resource development and thereby increase the number of jobs in the society.

In British Columbia we do have a tough time and we are fighting back. Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition are not dead. Maybe we are getting our second wind.

This document says, for instance, that no longer are we going to allow international capital to raise havoc with our economy. If there is a great velocity in international capital, we will introduce exchange controls, so they do not undermine our economy. We are saying that the high interest rates are not good for the economy of this country because they bring about exchange or transfer of wealth from the people who do not have it to the people who have it. So I think, on the overall, it is a good document and I would suggest to all the delegates, to go back with this document and start taking action. I do not think that the CLC can dictate to the affiliates what should be done.

MS. E. ARMSTRONG (UE, Local 507): I am speaking on the con mike for the same reason as a number of the brothers and sisters before me — the lack of action in the paper.

The two million unemployed in Canada do not have to have their problem explained to them, they are living with it every day. The unemployed in this country have a right to look to those of us that are still working for leadership. Great numbers of them were members of our unions and they have a right to expect that when they are unemployed, we will continue to lead. And this paper offers no leadership to them.

Brother McDermott spoke this morning about the 32-hour week and said he would lead a fight on that, if that is what this Convention wanted. It is unfortunate that it is not contained in the most important policy paper of this Convention. Because, indeed, it is one of the answers. The 32-hour week will create jobs, if we are determined to fight for it and win it through collective bargaining.

We have a tendency sometimes to look at the unemployed as statistics, and we talk about them in numbers rather than looking at them as flesh and blood, our brothers and our sisters who are losing their homes, whose kids are not able to go on and further their education because of the lack of money, and where real social problems are occurring in the home with wife-battering, alcoholism and all of the problems that come with unemployment. I think we have to remember these things when we discuss this question and begin to look at it in human terms. I think we have to look at it from a selfish point of view, because I don't think there is one of us in this hall that is so smug that they figure that they will always have their job. I work for a trans-national corporation, General Electric, who over the past ten or fifteen years has been systematically pulling out of Canada. I come from a shop that, when I started there, had 1,800 workers. Today we are down to 300. And, in all sincerity, when I go back to that plant next Monday morning, I am not sure I will have a job, because the possibility is there that they will be announcing the closing of that department. Thirty-eight years of my life I have been in that place and they are going to throw me out! Not without a fight, brothers and sisters!

If this Convention does nothing else, it must put some teeth into this paper. That is what we are in business for, to give leadership to the workers of this country. And we are not going to do it with pious statements that explain the problem and then not give the program that is needed to defeat this. We cannot wait for an election. We want action now.

MR. G. HEWISON (UFAWU, Local 5): I would like to move referral back to Committee with instructions to add a call for action at the community, provincial and federal levels, as was part of the 1982 Economic Policy Paper, including a call for a national campaign on the shorter work week, and to bring this statement in line with the Technology Report and with our President's speech this morning.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Now just a minute, just a minute. This is all very clever but it is not going to work, you are on the wrong microphone, brother. That is a pro mike. A referral is not a pro position. Now, before we get to that, and I know it is all right to boo, it is all right to yell, it is all right to scream. Have a good time. A referral does not come from a pro mike. If you want to refer it from a con mike, then please go ahead because I am not going to permit this procedure to get muddled and manipulated during the course of this Convention, you might as well understand that. You are now on the proper microphone.

MR. G. HEWISON (UFAWU, Local 5): Thank you, Brother President. I would just say, the sooner we get rid of these pro and con mikes and get a united Convention and have a decent debate, the better off we will be.

I would like to move, Brother Chairman, that we refer this resolution back with instructions to the Committee as outlined previously; (seconded).

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is for one of referral with the specific instructions that came from the con mike. All those in favour of the motion to refer, please signify. Down. Opposed? I guess the policy paper is referred.

I would like to request each and every speaker that talked about the lack of action, the positive action, the point by point action program, about the Committee being general and not specific, all those things that are not in the document, including the reference to there being no reference to the shorter work week in the document, and everybody cheers and it is right there, I would like the assistance of these people so the Committee can get some guidance, if you please.

We now go to the Statement on Concessions.

MR. D. MARTIN (Economic Policy Committee Chairman): Document 27 is presented on behalf of the Executive Council:

STATEMENT ON CONCESSIONS

"In 1982 the Canadian labour movement affirmed its total opposition to demands for concessions. We declared that we would not tolerate attempts to make labour the scapegoat for government and business mismanagement of the economy. Yielding to concession demands destroys our reason for being. Our basic rights to organize and bargain collectively are on the line.

"We knew concessions were bad economics, that they would make a sick economy worse, that they would neither create nor save any jobs.

"We knew concessions were unjust economics, taking from those who could least afford it.

"We knew concessions were a basic attack on trade union rights, and, further, on the basic rights of all working people.

"The Canadian Labour Congress' action to mobilize against concession demands was unique. We were the first central labour body in the western industrialized world to do so. Events have proven that it was the right thing to do.

"The attacks are far from over. The 1980s version of the Family Compact of business and government gives evidence every day that concession demands are not a passing phase. They have become profoundly established as part of that partnership's strategy. Our response has been thoughtful, constructive and determined. Among our members, the sense of solidarity and purpose has never been greater. This is not easily understood by those outside the movement, but it is a source of strength and commitment for those of us in the trade union movement.

"Our determination to maintain our solidarity and sense of purpose means we will succeed in fighting off the attacks on our rights and our standard of living. It means we will make giant strides towards widening rights and improving the standard of life for all working people in Canada.

"It is time to reaffirm what we said two years ago, and to declare our resolve to strengthen the collective bargaining system in Canada.

"We reject wage rollbacks and other concession demands.

"We reject the demand for two-tiered wage systems. Two-tiered wage systems are an insidious device to break down solidarity between workers. They pit young workers against old. They discriminate against women, who are entering the workforce in ever increasing numbers. They are a foot in the door to lower wages and security for all.

"We continue to reject and will counter attacks on the collective bargaining system and on the legitimacy of trade unions themselves. The trade union movement was created in the face of such attacks. We are not intimidated.

"We will continue our opposition to the attacks on collective bargaining rights in the public sector. If basic rights are denied to public sector workers, then no rights, anywhere, are secure.

"We will continue to oppose government policies that have deepened and prolonged the depression, thrown people out of work and weakened the bargaining power of working people in both the public and private sectors.

"We will vigorously press our economic and social alternatives leading to full employment and a fairer distribution of Canada's wealth.

"We make these undertakings in the context of a vital and resilient labour movement. Our solidarity has sustained us and our ranks have grown. As we come together in 1984, union membership as a percentage of the workforce is higher than it has ever been.

"We have forged ahead in spite of the deepest depression in fifty years and loss of thousands of our members' jobs; in spite of repeated demands for concessions; in spite of continuing attacks on our basic collective bargaining rights and on the legitimacy of trade unions themselves.

"Those who believe that the depression has frightened workers into being docile and easy to push around are mistaken. Our history, our heritage, our determination today paint this notion as fiction."

"We are in a battle for the growth and progress of the trade union movement. We are determined to build a fairer, more prosperous society for all.

"It is a battle we will not lose."

MR. D. MARTIN (Economic Policy Committee Chairman): Mr. Chairman, this Policy Statement covers the following Resolutions: Ec-37, 40, 42, 46, 54, 57, 58, 60, 61, 68 and 100. On behalf of the Executive Council, I move concurrence; seconded by R. McGarry, Committee Secretary.

MR. G. DOCQUIER (United Steelworkers, Canadian Director): I support this CLC policy statement for, in my opinion, it is extremely important that we not only reiterate but state positively our determination and resolve to resist all concession demands. For the past two or three years, large corporations and governments have centered their efforts on fighting off inflation and, even though the battle is apparently being slowly won, this has definitely been achieved at the expense of workers. But behind the "fight inflation" objective lies another one, all the more tragic for workers as it aims to simply eliminate the middle class in North America, not only in North America but also in other developed countries, in Europe, in Japan. We set an example by fighting against concessions, but the battle is not yet over.

If we say in this document that we have to resist all kinds of concession demands, one that is very dangerous pulls us back twenty, thirty years ago, when we were starting as young people in plants, signing our cards for the union to protect what we now have. We started in the plants with wages ten, fifteen, twenty per cent below the people that had full-time status. At that time, we had two rates: one for women and one for men. We had a double seniority list: concessions drag us back to the past. We certainly have to keep on with the fight. It is with a great deal of pride and satisfaction that the Steelworkers have planted a very big iron nail in the coffin of concessions recently. Workers from Stelco and from Algoma have resisted concession demands from the employers very successfully. Workers in the Iron Ore, with a devastated industry, have also been successful in turning down concession demands that were asking five dollars and more in concessions. We just signed an agreement in the Iron Ore mines and the Steelworkers there again have won a dramatic victory, and I want to congratulate the members of my union.

MR. A. ROSNER (IBFO, Local 712, Vice-President of Winnipeg Labour Council): I am speaking in opposition to this motion because of the recommendation of the Committee to subsume under this Policy Statement on Concessions, Resolution No. Ec-58 which was submitted by the Winnipeg Labour Council and which asks the CLC to support working people in Manitoba in the struggle which is being waged by working people all across the country, the struggle against restraints, against cutbacks and against concessions, and which are also being implemented in one form and another and are being promoted in the province of Manitoba. I heard one brother earlier make a comparison between Manitoba and British Columbia, and we in Manitoba have been particularly the beneficiaries of such comparisons lately. When an issue comes up which demands struggle, which demands unity, one line we hear very often is that, well look at B.C. If we rock the boat in Manitoba, we are going to have a B.C.-type situation come down on our heads. I suggest to you that we in the Canadian labour movement do not dare to set the B.C. government and its actions against labour as our standard. Because if we set that as our standard, then we are going to give up the struggle for a lot of rights that we have been fighting for a long time. If B.C. is the standard, then anything is going to look better, and that is the kind of position that we have to be very careful about and that can be very dangerous.

In July 1982, Premier Howard Pawley of Manitoba, in responding to the federal six and five program, stated that he was against it; he was against any program which was going to further impoverish those sections of workers who had already seen massive reductions in their incomes. And he gave examples such as janitors and orderlies, and various others. He pronounced himself against these kinds of restraints. It was not long before restraint programs began to be implemented by the Manitoba government. Now, I am not here to make a speech against the Manitoba government. The point I would like to make is that concessions of all types, social, political, economic, are not a fly-by-night policy of one government or one political party or another. They are concessions demanded by capital, by business, by the employers, and they are the same employers in every province of the country. We must judge those governments by whether they serve the interests of those employers or whether they oppose them. If a government is going to say to the employers of that province that you can demand all the concessions you want, but we are going to fight on the side of labour to oppose that, and we are not going to demand them ourselves, and we can support that. That has not happened in Manitoba.

On February 23, 1983, Howard Pawley spoke in the Manitoba Legislature. He spoke very shortly after the Manitoba Government Employees' Association had responded to the government's demand for wage concessions, had reopened their collective agreement, facing a threat of layoffs of hundreds of civil servants in Manitoba. And the government made that threat within a week of Standard and Poor in the U.S.A. having threatened to reduce Manitoba's credit rating. The MGEA reopened their contract, took a wage rollback or postponed a wage increase, and in exchange they got a no-layoff clause until September of this year.

Howard Pawley said — I don't have the quote here, but it's in *Hansard* — that "I praise the move of the Manitoba Government Employees' Association and I want to see the same social and public spirit extended to the public and the private sector." Why does the Manitoba government want to extend this to the private sector? Because they don't pay the wages of the private sector and they cannot blame them for adding to the government deficit. Here is a document by the Manitoba government called *Site Location Report*. It gives graphs, from the Manitoba Department of Economic Development, showing that Manitoba has lower manufacturing earnings per hour than Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, B.C., New York, Texas, California, Ohio, and boasting about it and giving it as a reason why manufacturers should locate in Manitoba. Here is another graph called "Manitoba's Stable Work Force". Manitobans are good employees and as a consequence, there is less lost time due to strikes and lock-outs. It is surprising. But these are not issued for labour, they are issued for management.

I think the Manitoba government feels that with that policy they are going to get more foreign investment in Manitoba, and we cannot go along with concessions for logic like that. So I just wanted to make that point in reference to this document.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Yes, what is it, mike 4?

MR. G. DOER (NUPGE-MGEA, Local 507): The brother who spoke previously made some references to concessions that we are alleged to have made with our Manitoba government. I want to point out very clearly that when you can take a two-year collective agreement at 24 per cent with a number of other benefits, extend it up to 27 per cent for six more months and a no-layoff clause, 98.5 per cent of our members did not feel it was concessions, they voted freely for that collective agreement. We would prefer to speak on behalf of our membership rather than outsiders trying to guess what our membership was doing in areas like that.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): O.K.

MR. R. WHITE (UAW, Director for Canada): I remember very clearly, two years ago when we met in Winnipeg, the issue facing us was that government was setting the stage for the public sector wage controls and that management was setting the stage to go and attack the private sector workers with concessions and cutbacks. I remember our members were scared, and they had a right to be scared. There were layoffs in the public sector, in the private sector, there were hundreds of thousands of workers being laid off, with plant and office closings almost every month. The decision we took in Winnipeg at that Convention was not whether concessions were good or bad for workers, because they were bad for workers. The decision that we had to make at that Convention was: where was the trade union movement in this country going to be on the question of concessions? Were we going to be the spokespersons for the management and the corporate elite in this country and tell workers when they were scared: you would be better to take less wages and benefits and somehow that will guarantee your job security? Or were we going to take our responsibilities as labour leaders and say, in spite of the odds against us, in spite of the unemployment, in spite of the insecurity, we have an obligation and we have to fight back? And I'm glad to say we did that.

I remember, it did not just happen in the UAW. We have a lot of publicity because of the size of our union and the industry. But we knew, when we walked the street with the Chrysler workers, that, had the Lee I. Iaccocas of this world been able to bludgeon the Chrysler workers back to work, it would have edged into the Steelworkers, and the Woodworkers, the Rubber Workers and the workers in the public sector. We knew the responsibility and we took on that fight. We are glad, with the support of the labour movement, that we could win that fight. Because when we talked to the Chrysler Corporation, we said we are not just talking about the UAW membership here, we have the support of the labour movement and do not try to import your U.S. policies into this country, because it is not going to work. And it did not work.

While I take comfort from that, we have to understand it is still going on and the cancer in our country is the cancer of unemployment. As long as we have mass unemployment, we are going to talk about that and the employers and the governments will try and pit workers against workers. When you see 700 or 1,000 people lined up for hotel jobs, at minimum wage, when you see workers in California in the aerospace plants, 3,000 workers lined up to take the jobs of strikers, that focuses on the problem of concessions and the fight is still going on. We have a strike in Brantford now that started before Christmas where the employer made a demand in every clause of our collective agreement. The multi-tiered wage system is what I call future concessions, with the employers saying to the current workers: don't worry it doesn't affect you, it only affects those people that come behind you. They started, they tried it in our industry, they are doing it in the airline industry, and we have to fight that just as vigorously as we fought the whole question of cutbacks for current workers.

I am proud today that in the Canadian labour movement, we did at least make the fight. And we did not win them all, in the UAW, we lost some. Some workers were on strike for six and eight months and had to go back and made some concessions, but we made the fight. But the message that we have to give to the employers, and the governments of this country today, is that collective bargaining has to change now. We have been through the concession battle, the fight we are going to talk about now is progress. And progress on work time and progress on income security and progress on pensions and progress on wages. That is what we have got to talk about.

Two years ago, in Winnipeg, I had enormous faith in the working people of this country and I said if we went to them and talked to them seriously, educated them and mobilized them about the issue, regardless of the odds, when it came to the test, they would stand with their union.

I feel the same way today as I face the battles for the future. We have to mobilize now to tell employers that we are going to do it together again. We are going to talk about work time at this Convention and we are going to do it together again. We are going to extend a hand of friendship to others in our community and march in this country and mobilize in this country, until we start getting workers back to proper priorities; that they belong in this country, and are not taking a back seat and fighting against concessions forever, because of cute collective bargaining ploys. If they can keep us all tied up talking about what we have, we are not going to make progress. And I believe we can join together in this Convention, men and women, public sector and private sector, and say to the employers and the governments of this country, the time of concessions is behind us, the time of progress is 1984, and this labour movement is ready and we are going to march together.

MR. G. McCARTHY (UAW, Local 707): Mr. Chairman, I speak against this Document No. 27, not because that I am against what is in it, but because it does not go far enough. I am going to explain to you what I mean and I hope I am on the right track according to this document. If I am not, I am sure you will let me know.

You talk about here of wage rejects and rollbacks and concession demands. Yet I am going to turn around and tell you about a strike that took place in May 1982, and I am accusing the Canadian Labour Congress and the Ontario Federation of Labour of not doing their job and not living up to their responsibilities. The reason I say that, is that this local went on strike and the President of that union, along with its committee, only works in the plant and he cannot turn around and be guided and get the understanding, and I think that is where the CLC and the OFL should have somebody there to give them guidance. What they agreed on, after being on strike for two months, is a 50-cent raise. They gave the company the right to fire 273 employees so they could open up another plant, I believe in London, to go in under the minimum wage. I am sure this is not what the CLC stands for and I am sure this is not what the federations of labour stand for. But if you do not put people there to help like in my own local, which is a big local, we can turn around and fight it and understand it. But a small local, where the Chairman is working into the plant, does not get the force, the understanding to turn around and know what is going on. I believe that there should be no contracts signed without first having the official stamping of the Canadian Labour Congress or the federations of labour, regardless where they are at.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right.

MR. S. FOX (Director, Clothing Division, ACTWU): This is one of the most significant documents that will appear before us, and for those delegates that wanted action in the last document, I also suggest that here is where the action is. Our union and the clothing and textile industry for the past two years have been undergoing a series of negotiations that was characterized by only one aspect: every single manufacturer, every single employer came to the bargaining table with a laundry list of concessions and cutbacks that they wanted and we had any number of potential strike situations and strike situations. Yet I can state to you that, at this time, two years later, at least in our industry, in no case did we have any concessions granted in any of these bargaining processes.

This was at a time when for 15 or 20 years import penetration from low wage countries has cut in deeply into our industry, making it difficult and sometimes almost impossible to have an industrial strategy that makes sense. Even with that situation and with a period of plant closures that sold literally 25 per cent of our industries, where jobs disappear probably on a permanent basis, we recognize full well that we should not use that as a crutch or use that as an excuse to say: "well all of these pressures are upon us and we will save jobs by making concessions". We took our lead from the '82 Convention, which was one of the most courageous conventions. The subsequent actions, primarily of the UAW, of the Steelworkers and many others, were certainly a guide and inspiration to us, and certainly in the private sector, the record of the industrial unions was a good one.

To suggest for a moment, however, that the period of concessions is over is a vast mistake. The next round of negotiations will be coming up in '84 and '85 and I rather suspect that they will be coming back for concessions and probably in an intensified manner. Now one of the problems in my industry, which is unique among many, is that we have an import penetration that in certain product lines goes up to 50, 60 and 75 per cent, and we also have a group of manufacturers that, while they declare their Canadian patriotism and their desire to maintain and create Canadian jobs, are hedging their bets and have become importers as well, and then we have all kinds of interesting combinations whereby there are existing laws that will allow manufacturers in apparel to cut work in Canada, ship it to the Far East, have it cut, come back, press it here, and call it Canadian content. These are some of the monstrous problems we are facing and only by government action, by reversing the insane policies of the government on foreign trade as applies to our industries and to many industries, will our problems not be solved but certainly mitigated. Nevertheless, in the bargaining posture that we had behind us, and certainly in the bargaining posture we have before us, I want to very highly commend the drafters of this statement that this should be certainly our policy statement for the forthcoming two years because without it we can get into all kinds of suicidal situations.

MR. B. PHILIP (ECWU, Local 601): The rightness of the decision taken in 1982 is clear to everybody here. It was a positive action and I rise to support the reaffirmation of that in this document. The question of concessions and rollbacks would not create any jobs, it would not save any jobs. And the employers knew it, it was a simple matter of redistribution of income, another method of taking from those who have not, and putting it into the pockets of those that have. I want to say to you that our union supports this policy wholeheartedly.

We have, over the past two years, negotiated some 300 agreements and we have not succumbed to concessions or rollbacks. And it is not that the industry did not want it. There were those who would have had us go back not to 40 hours a week, but to 42 hours a week. There were those who wanted other monetary concessions. They did not get them and they are not going to get them in the future. This is a positive position and it is one that we can all support and fight for. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Now before we go on to the next speaker, can I ask the members of the General Resolutions Committee, please come to the platform.

MR. M. WARNER (CUPE, Local 82): Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate the Committee on their recommendation and I want to also say that I am proud to come from the City of Windsor where the UAW took on the Chrysler corporation. As a public sector worker, I expect we are going to have to take on the City of Windsor. We have had ten meetings with the City of Windsor and they have got 38 take-aways, concessions, in front of us. It is a disgrace that I come from a union town and I have to stand up and admit to this Convention that I have to fight the City of Windsor on concessions. They want to take away vacations, they want to take away job security, they want to take away holidays.

It is time that this movement stood up and took on, not only the corporations, but the public sector. We, in the public sector, are just starting. The City of Windsor have ours. I was talking to my brother in Essex, they have 25 take-aways in the City of Essex on concessions. The UAW took on the Chrysler corporation and proved to them there were going to be no concessions. Now, it is time that the public sector workers are going to have to stand up and show them that they mean business.

MR. J. DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): I think our paper on Concessions, just like the policy paper on an economic alternative that we just dealt with, should be tied into a whole lot of other issues that we are going to be dealing with. I would say first and foremost it should also have tied in the women's issues that we're going to be talking about later on.

We have a resolution in the book, W-19 I think it is, that criticizes the Economic Recovery Alternative, the ERA, that this Canadian Labour Congress has been implementing over the last couple of years, for not integrating women's issues throughout that policy paper. I think when we talk about concessions, we have to say that we are determined that we are not going to give up any of the things that we have fought for and that we have won for the women members of the labour movement over the last few years as well. When we talk about concessions we have to talk about those women who won jobs at Stelco and Inco, for instance, in the United Steelworkers of America. After very long hard fights there, those jobs were lost as a result of massive layoffs and unemployment. I think we have to talk about the cutbacks in child care as well and how that has affected both our members on the job and also how it has affected that service which is really vital to our women members. If we are really going to talk about concessions, I do not think we can wait, for instance until women's issues comes up on the agenda and say, this is the time and place when we are going to talk about the 50 per cent of the work force who are even harder affected by concessions than many of the rest of us.

When we talk about concessions, we have to be careful that we do not fall into the trap that our employers and governments set for us. A lot of people out there say: labour has got to do its part for the recovery too, labour is greedy, why are those auto workers who are already "so well paid" so determined to hold onto what they have when other people in this society have so much less? There are a whole lot of things we have to do in order to educate the public to overcome that, but I think one of the things we have to do is make sure that we are out there fighting concessions also every time a social right in this society is cut back. That means, like the brothers and sisters in B.C. have been doing, when they shut down centres for battered women, that labour has to be out there saying that is a social right that we as the labour movement are not prepared to give up either. It means fighting when hospital beds are cut. There are an awful lot of people out there who realize that when they have to wait three days, as a relative of mine did recently at Toronto General Hospital, for emergency surgery, because there are not enough beds there. That's a concession as well, The right to decent health care, the right to medicare is something that we in this labour movement also fought long and hard for, not just for ourselves but for everybody in this society who has the right to decent health care.

What we have to be saying is that every right that we have fought for in this society, whether that is the right to a job, the right to strike, the right to collective bargaining, the right to decent health care or day care, we are not going to give up any of those rights and all of those things are part and parcel of the fight against concessions.

MR. P. SAMSON (President, PSAC):I support this document for one legitimate and valid reason. Two years ago, on a Friday evening at ten o'clock, the government of this country legislated a law taking away collective bargaining rights from the federal public sector in this country. They did not consult the unions, and ever since then they have been trying to excuse themselves and find a door to escape their embarrassment. My message to this Convention: governments of the land, government of this country, this democratic Canada, are listening more to the corporate world than they are to the unions, to the workers of this country. We have to be very careful. This document has to be supported unanimously because it is a position on collective bargaining, and collective bargaining is the goal of every union anywhere in the world.

MR. M. KHAN (UAW, Local 707): I support this document. I must say that in 1982, we made three points on concessions: number one, we showed the sincerity towards our government as well as those corporations, because we were prepared to give our bread and butter and share with their problems; number two, we proved that those corporations and those governments are very dishonest, very selfish because when they improved their economy, we were nobody; and the third thing that we proved was that concessions are no remedy to solve the problems of any nation or organization. As far as future is concerned, we have learned from the experience that the people who made those concessions suffer, their families suffer, their children suffer. And these corporations took all that money to other countries by saying that we can get a labour cheaper, compared to Canada. They made all kinds of money in this country, they are rich because of our work; and now they have taken that money to Mexico and other countries, which is not fair. Now we have to take a position where we have to say enough is enough; and we are not going to make any concessions; we are going to share with their wealth. The people who are running those corporations, are making millions of dollars and sharing good life with those monies. And now it is about time to take a position and stop it.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Now the question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed?

On the main motion, all those in favour of the adoption of the report, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

I will now call on the Chairman of the General Resolutions Committee.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions' Committee Chairman): Delegates, you should have before you from your kits Document No. 2, the Report of the General Resolutions Committee.

I will now have the Secretary read the Resolution G-1, as amended.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions' Committee Secretary):

"WHEREAS the federal government has repeatedly refused to support the many struggles for liberation and justice occurring throughout the world; and

"WHEREAS in order to properly implement the policies of the Congress, it is essential that the International Affairs Department of the Canadian Labour Congress continue to be independent of government influence; and

"WHEREAS the CLC receives substantial financial support from CIDA for its international work; and

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Congress make full disclosure of the amount of funds received from CIDA."

The Committee recommends concurrence and on behalf of the Committee, I so move, duly seconded by a member of the Committee.

MR. J. TURK (UE, Local 508): I rise in support of this very important resolution. Brother McDermott may remember at the last Convention in Winnipeg in 1982, I rose from a mike to ask the question as to whether the International Affairs Department of the CLC was receiving any funding from the Canadian government. I was told no, and when we pointed out, well we understood there was money from the Canadian International Development Agency, we were told that is not the Canadian government, it's an independent agency.

We see this resolution and the recommendation of the Committee for concurrence in this resolution as a major step forward, because in fact the Canadian Labour Congress receives a good deal of money from this federal government agency. In the fiscal year 1982-83, the total amount received, committed for projects, was

$1,340,000. We think it is very important that the affiliates and this Convention have a full and open accounting of these funds and what they are used for. I hope all of you will support this resolution.

I must say, and I am voting for this resolution, that I am saddened by the decision of the Committee to change Resolution G-1. If you look at it, it's the first resolution in your Resolutions Book, there are two very important omissions which I hope will be rectified at our next Convention. In the first Resolved, there was deletion of the words that they also make full disclosure of any amount used for staff persons in Canada and abroad, that is for any staff seconded to the CLC. But more importantly, the deletion of the second Resolved, that the Congress take action to become independent from financing from CIDA. Whenever we raise the question of where we get our money from, many brothers and sisters rise and say, I do not care where the money comes from, it is what we do with it, because we are not going to be tainted or affected because we get money from the Canadian government. And I wish that were true.

I want to cite the basis of our concern in making this resolution in the first place, and hoping that this part will be brought forward at the next Convention; it is a leaflet published by the Canadian Institute for International Affairs and written by the CLC's Director of International Affairs, John Harker. This was published in 1983 and it talks about his views on international affairs, and, in my personal view, it could have been written by the Canadian government. It shows a similarity on Nicaragua. It accuses the American media of being overly sympathetic to the Nicaraguan government, of being on a guilt trip in Nicaragua — this is the American media — of viewing the Sandinistas and I quote, "through a romantic haze."

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Secretary-Treasurer D. Montgomery): You are wandering off the resolution very decidedly, so can you bring yourself back to the subject being dealt with in the resolution.

MR. J. TURK (UE, Local 508): I am trying to address the resolution on receiving money from CIDA and on full accounting of this, and I think I have a right since this is a substitute resolution, while I am in favour of it, to point what it has deleted from the resolution that was put forward. Am I wrong in that understanding?

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Well you are getting very far off when you talk about a leaflet put out by the Canadian Institute for International Affairs when you are talking about funding of CIDA projects. So please address yourself to the resolution.

MR. J. TURK (UE, Local 508): Well, if you feel that I have gotten off the subject, on that point, please let me know.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): I had hoped I made that clear. Maybe I am speaking the wrong language.

MR. J. TURK (UE, Local 508): If I was wandering far, I think I am still within the bounds. The point I am making, Mr. Chairman, is a simple one. In addition to an accounting of the funding, we have to be concerned about the influence of that funding, that was deleted from this resolution, that this publication by the Director of our International Affairs Department shows that on Nicaragua, that on El Salvador, that on the peace movement in Canada, the position taken is virtually identical to that of the Canadian government and contrary or wandering far from the context of the CLC policy. And if I may be allowed one quotation, then I will sit down. With respect to Canada, the document says: "Is the clamour in the streets going to shake Canada's approach to peace, security and disarmament? Whatever the answer, it is clear that not enough has been done to ensure that the voices in the street mouth more than one-sided slogans, notwithstanding (this is in praise of the Prime Minister) the contribution made by the Prime Minister's letter on cruise testing (and further citing the ICFTU's zero option which is similar in many ways to Reagan's); if it were to become the new position of the United States, it might be more difficult for the peace movement to continue winning the public image game, and there would be more opportunity for security and defence concerns to be heard." We must pass the resolution before us but we must also look to the future to make sure that the positions coming out of the Canadian Labour Congress reflect the view of our Congress, of the NDP. The actions of the Congress on the peace petition caravan are admirable, and that's the direction we should go in the future and passing this will be another step in that direction.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (UFAWU, Local 10): I did a quick editing job here, I'm sure you'll let me know if I am out of line, though. I rise in support of the resolution, but it is cautious support. The fact is that CIDA provides government money and it is a large organization. They get more money than the Agriculture Ministry does in Canada for funds in Canadian farming.

It is also the domestic policy of the Canadian government, which we oppose time after time at these microphones. It is the same domestic policy that has ravaged our communities across this country. So we must be careful when we are taking government money. It is not without strings many times, as we all well know. It is not just a question of basic solidarity with workers around the world, it is a question of our own survival. Speaker after speaker says that money is being exported out of our country. Well it is being exported for a reason, because there are real unions here and real conditions which protect us more than there are in those countries in many cases. Two years ago, there were 20 resolutions on Nicaragua that came to the CLC from all over this country, and many of them did not come on the floor there, and many of them were supporting the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, the organization that led the fight to overthrow the dictatorship there.

Many people know about the tools for peace campaign. There is a campaign organized by unions in the large part and non-governmental organizations across the country. A million dollars was raised for the people of Nicaragua without any government money. Solidarity tours are taking place all across the country. Workers from the Third World are coming here and speaking with people, other trade unionists. And workers from here are going on trade union tours for Third World countries. So we have an increase in solidarity work, more calls for relations with trade unions in the Third World, and yet we do not seem to be getting that from the CLC in many cases.

And that is why I support this resolution, but let's be very careful about this government money. The people working in the communities want to be supported. We are not getting government money for that, we are doing the work because we believe in it. And that is what we want to see the CLC policy reflect; what is going on in the communities. Because if it is not, then all the government money in the world will not change that and it will not help the people in the Third World. So I urge you to support his.

MR. W. MUNDLE (CUPW, Moncton Local): I rise at the con mike, not because I am against what is in the document, but as one of the previous speakers said, there is something very important lacking in it. I think if you go to the Resolution No. 1 in the same section, it is the second part, "That the Congress take action to become independent from financing of CIDA". My concerns are basically the same as the other brother had raised, that the people that are paying the money, the government in this case, through CIDA, seem to be calling the tune.

There is no better example than looking at the situation in Nicaragua because the policy of the CLC with respect to Nicaragua and our failure to recognize other trade unions there, seems to fall in line with what the Government of Canada is doing. They are sitting back and not doing enough. It is quite surprising because of the comments that we heard at the opening of this Convention, what we must do in terms of international affairs. And even in the other policy statement that was referred back a little earlier this afternoon, there was reference to international affairs in that document and saying that we must show real active support in international affairs, actually doing something, making contacts with other trade union centrals, but we are not doing that. I can only relate that to the type of financing that we are getting, financing through CIDA. A very serious problem, we talk about workers who are fighting back and struggling for economic justice, and there is no better example in that than what is happening now with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. Yet, we do not come to their aid in a concrete fashion except to say that we are opposed to American intervention. If we are not calling our own shots, then we are going to be toeing the government policy with respect to Nicaragua and other countries around the world, and never are we ever going to be able to go to the support of brothers and sisters who need it, unless we have the backing of the Government of Canada. That is just not right. Hopefully, when the other policy paper comes up later, on international affairs, people will see fit to do the same thing with that one and refer it back also to the Committee to come back and actually pass resolutions that are going to bring about action.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): I see no other delegates at the microphones. The question before the house is the adoption of substitute resolution, as recommended by the Committee. All in favour of concurring in the recommendation of the Committee, please show. Down. Those opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Would you turn to Resolution G-11 which covers Resolutions G-2, G-24 and G-31:

> "WHEREAS our country's federal and provincial governments have frequently chosen to suspend workers' rights for political ends — making it obvious that Canadian workers need constitutional protection from their governments;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress, recognizing the need to protect workers from the arbitrary removal of basic free collective bargaining rights, begin an immediate effort to develop *The First Amendment: Constitutional Rights for Canadian Workers* by establishing a First Amendment Committee: and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this committee canvass opinion on the specifics of such an amendment before it is prepared; and that the First Amendment Committee:
>
> 1. Present the proposed amendment to the CLC Executive Council which is hereby given the power to ratify; and
> 2. Expand its mandate, following ratification, to become The First Amendment Action Committee and invite support from all affiliates and all like-minded Canadians to ensure adoption of Canada's First Constitutional Amendment."

The Committee recommends concurrence and, on behalf of the Committee, I so move, duly seconded by a member of the Committee.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The motion before the house is the recommendation of the Committee to adopt Resolution G-11. Seeing no one at the microphones, I will ask the delegates to vote. All those in favour of adopting the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution No. G-20. We have an amendment, and the resolution would then cover Resolutions G-3, G-14, G-25, G-26 and G-32:

> "WHEREAS there have been various concerns raised by affiliates regarding Canadian Labour Congress regional staffing levels; and
>
> "WHEREAS these concerns relate to staffing, including staff representatives, educational representatives and clerical support staff; and
>
> "WHEREAS there have been staff reductions in certain areas; and
>
> "WHEREAS the attacks being waged on organized labour throughout the country require the active support of the CLC throughout the country;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC President undertake a study of staffing levels throughout the country, paying particular attention to those areas that have suffered a reduction in staffing; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the President report its findings to the CLC Executive Council."

The Committee recommends concurrence, as amended, and on behalf of the Committee, I so move duly seconded by a member of the Committee.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): A number of resolutions that are covered by this composite resolution deal with staffing problems in individual areas. It is fairly clear in the Constitution of the Canadian Labour Congress that the power in terms of staffing rest with the President. It seems to us, rather than debate each one of those resolutions individually, by bringing a composite resolution which allows delegates in those areas to raise your concerns here, and requiring the CLC President to look at the staffing in those areas — obviously he has to look at the other resolutions — and then report to the Executive Council, is the best way to do it within the framework of the Constitution.

MR. K. CLAVETTE (Ottawa and District Labour Council): I rise in opposition to this resolution, not so much because I don't trust what is going to happen, but we have seen too much of organizational skills in the CLC turn to administrative work. We supported G-14 which calls for the replacement of the CLC representative in Calgary. Too often our people have been taken away from the organizing responsibilities and given administrative tasks, and it is not helping us in the locals, the directly chartered locals, the labour councils, to organize and do the jobs we need. So I would suggest that if this gets passed, that we really keep an eye on what is going on with this commission that is going to be studying it, because we have been undercut more and more on our staffing. We have to have the people there, we need them, the technical people to help us. That is why I am raising an opposition to this.

MR. T. BLEASDALE (NUPGE — MGEA, Local 807): I rise in support of this resolution, but once again with some reservations. I appreciate the statements made by Brother White. But let's face it, the President of this organization made a statement this morning to the effect that we are in a battle. We cannot fight battles without having troops in the field. Unfortunately, being a former representative of the Canadian Labour Congress, I can see the erosion that is taking place with the staffing of this organization to the detriment of the organization and also to the detriment of the delegates at this Convention. I think that there is no need for the President to do a report because the President is already aware of where these positions are lacking, and I think it is time that the Congress put its money where its mouth is and put staff in the field enabling them to do the job to serve the affiliates.

MR. W. PATERSON (Calgary Labour Council): I rise opposed to the Committee recommendation amending Resolution 20. I think the amendment as proposed is a snow job, is a con job and hope that the delegates here will not buy it. As the previous brother said, and I will not necessarily repeat his words. In this particular snow job resolution before you, it states that the President study the situation of staffing and report to the Executive Council. Number one, I am darn sure that the President today knows what the staffing problems are or the staffing levels are, he knows that we need a representative in our section of Alberta. He wrote me a letter some time ago and explained the reason why they would not bring the level back to two — because of money. Number two, in this resolution it states that the President reports to the Executive Council. It does not say when. Probably two or four years from now, maybe ten years from now. It does not say when he has to report back. This is a complete snow job.

We brought in Resolution 14, which is being conveniently overlooked by this amended resolution, and No. 14 states specifically that we want the President or whoever else is responsible to immediately — and I repeat immediately — bring the staffing level in Alberta back to where it was before. Up to last September, for many, many years, Alberta enjoyed the privilege of having two staff reps.

One served in the northern part of Alberta, out of Edmonton, and another served in the southern part of Alberta, out of Calgary. Last September, our staff rep. in Calgary retired from the Congress because of age. He has not been replaced, and that is why this resolution is before you today. I am sure that you are probably aware, Mr. Chairman and the delegates in this room and also President McDermott, that we have a real big problem in Alberta.

For 36 years we were under the regime of Premier Manning's Social Credit government. We suffered year after year from amendments to the Alberta labour rights which got worse and worse. For the last 11, 12, 13 years, we have had Lougheed's Progressive Conservative government, but where they get the word "progressive" from, God knows! Since that time, what have we faced? We had Bill 41 passed in which the provincial government employees in Alberta were denied the right to strike and to free collective bargaining. They are not even covered by the Alberta Labour Act. Since that time, we have had Bill 44, which denies all hospital workers in the province of Alberta the right to strike. Not one person working in hospitals now in Alberta has the right to strike. On the social level, we have seen an erosion in medicare in Alberta, second to none across the country. We have hospital user fees proposed and could be carried out any time they want. We have had a rise in medicare premiums, which right now are well above the level of working people. All these things are going on and now the Congress reduces the staff of the CLC to one person. That one person right now has to service all of Alberta and part of the Northwest Territories. Nobody could do that job, and you expect us to accept that. I think this is a snow job, it is a con job, and I am asking the delegates here to refer this back and bring in Resolution 14 that we proposed originally.

MR. P. MOIST (President, Winnipeg Labour Council): Resolution G-20 amended by the Committee came from the Winnipeg Labour Council, and it came in the form recognizing that there were specific concerns out there that would be brought to this Convention, and it asks the CLC — and I do not have any problem with this being delegated to the President, in accordance with the Constitution — it asks the Congress to specifically look at areas where there have been reductions, and I think it goes further. It asks the Congress to look at staffing in general, and not only the field representative staffing, but the other important support staff that we need.

We heard from a previous speaker that this is a snow job and that the President might report four years from now. This resolution, as amended, instructs the President to report to the Executive Council. I have confidence in my Manitoba representatives on the Executive Council, I have confidence in representatives from my union on the Executive Council, that if an answer and if a reply is not forthcoming, that they will request it. Because I will ask them to.

I think also that we have to look at the specifics. I do not plan to leave this resolution as the only guidance to our President. I plan on behalf of my council to write to him in the near future. I would encourage any others with specific concerns to give our President further guidance before he reports to the Executive Council. Let us look at the specifics that are raised in the other resolutions, let us encourage other affiliates to contact the President to let him know their concerns, so that we can have a good overall review, a report to Executive Council that I know my representatives on Council will respond to if they feel it is necessary.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The question is being called for. I will test the house. All in favour of the question now being put, please show. Down. Those opposed?

What is the point of order on mike 1?

MR. L. RUFO (Print-Media Union of Alberta, Local 36): It is very easy for some people in the back to call for question, when there are empty mikes and they could come to the mikes to be recognized. It is different when there is a lot of people at the mikes and therefore you might have some difficulty recognizing anyone. But, to test the house from someone yelling at the back, it looks like this is a "yahoo" convention.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): I remind the delegates that the majority of the Convention have some rights too. If they have had enough debate, that is their decision. The decision is that they have had enough debate on this matter, so I am going to put the question.

MR. L. RUFO (Print-Media Union of Alberta, Local 36): It is not my opinion, Mr. Chairman, because I was going to move a motion to refer with instructions and I think it would be more acceptable to this Convention.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Mongtomery): I am sorry, brother, the house has already spoken. All those in favour of adopting the Committee's recommendation to approve of amended Resolution G-20, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

ADDRESS BY ALAN WILFORD, President of the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I would like to ask the Committee to step down momentarily, because we have a very important guest here today, and because of his schedule, I would like to give him the opportunity to speak to us. I am referring to the young man that I spoke about this morning, Alan Wilford, who is the President of the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association. You may recall that the Canadian Farmers' Survival Association was organized following a community effort to save a farm in Grey-Bruce County in Ontario. Alan Wilford was behind that, he is the best known and, by far, the most controversial member of Canada's farm community. He was in the forefront of the resistance at farm gates to prevent the seizures and evictions, and you ask the local sheriff and the bailiffs how he frustrated them. He and his fellow farmers rallied behind this very unorthodox style which resulted in the penny auction when they sold off $200,000 worth of seized equipment back to the farmer from whom it was seized for the large sum of $19.81. He went to jail as a result of that. While in jail, he embarked on an eight-day hunger strike to push the second reading of the Farm Creditors' Arrangement Act through the House of Commons and because of the widespread popularity and the high visibility of that movement, they accomplished that. He became the President in 1982. In December 1983, his grateful neighbours paid him their highest compliment and made him Farmer of the Year. Both in Canada and in the U.S., and for that matter, around the world, Alan Wilford is a good Canadian farm representative, a tireless organizer, one of the new breed, and I am glad to introduce him to you for a few remarks.

MR. A. WILFORD (President, Canadian Farmers' Survival Association): Thank you very much, indeed. It is an honour and a privilege to speak here today and I guess the first thing I should do is thank the CLC for their support when I was in jail. It was very deeply appreciated by the farm community.

I heard a lot of talk today about unemployment and the depression and some talk of recovery, and I do not think anyone can appreciate the depth of this depression until you go into Ottawa, as I did recently. I was riding in a taxi and saw men digging through garbage pails. As I looked, I noticed that they were very well dressed men and I said to the cabbie: is it really that bad? He said, you know it is worse than that. He said those are the politicians and they are looking for ideas.

We have massive unemployment in this great country. Our federal government borrowed three billion dollars last year and spent it. If you divide that by annual wage of $20,000, they borrowed and spent enough money to create a million-and-a-half jobs. With the reality of a balanced budget, we would double unemployment. Our political alternatives right now are continued borrowing. The federal government brings in something like $70 billion. They had to borrow $30 billion to go with it. On the other hand, the other political party — and I will not name parties — will attempt to balance the budget and cut deficit spending to face the reality of double digit unemployment.

The politicians will not cure this problem. They are the ones who created it. To be fair to them, they have been listening to the economic philosophies for the last 40 years that got us into this mess. The idea that you could borrow yourself rich. The idea that through increased exports, if we could just export more and import less, we would somehow get rich. And of course we know the Third World can pay off their debt if they could export more and import less, and of course Europe has its problems and if they could only export more and import less, they would be all right. No one stops to think that if everyone succeeds, everyone fails. They do not have Canadian dollars in Russia; we sell wheat to Russia, we import a lot of cars, Bolaris tractors. We lay off our auto workers. I think Benjamin Franklin hit it on the head. He said there are three ways a nation can become wealthy. It can make war and take the wealth of another nation by force. It can trade freely and make a profit by cheating. Or it can profit through agriculture whereby planting a seed, we create new wealth as if by miracle. And that is the miracle I want to talk about today.

Every spring, the farmers of this nation put seeds in the ground. You put one barley seed in and it comes forth a hundredfold; there are a hundred barley seeds that did not exist the year before. We put a cow and a bull together and we have a new calf, and that is a calf that did not exist before. That is the new wealth that comes into this nation every year, and I extend that to the lumber industry and the fishing industry. You can say that it comes from Mother Nature or you can say it is a gift of God, but the interesting thing about that new wealth is that it does not have to be paid back. When the government borrows money to spend though and tries to prime and pump on a dry well, they borrow the money to try and create prosperity. It has to be paid back, but Mother Nature does not.

But this goes on all the time, and we are still having problems. The problem is we are not pricing that properly. If we had a million bushels of wheat produced and we sell it for a dollar a bushel, we only have a million dollars of new wealth to go through the economy. If it is priced properly, if it is priced at $10 a bushel, you have $10 million to go through the economy, and that is new wealth and that is what financed this nation or used to finance this nation.

And I like this, what I call a balanced internal economy, because we have farmers out there that need equipment. Among most of my neighbours, the newest car I have seen in my neighbourhood is a 1977. They need pick-up trucks, they need combines, they need tires for their vehicles, but they cannot buy them. You, in turn, are willing to produce them. I thought the other day, as I watched a robin building its nest, about the unemployed construction workers and our people who do not have houses, and no one told the robin there was a depression going on. Back in the 1930s, the bees continued to collect honey and the ants continued to build houses. A depression is man-made, it is economic policy and it does not need to happen.

When I speak of raw material economics, I am talking about primary industry. We have primary industry, we have secondary industry and we have the service industries. It is an exchange of goods and services. I parallel this to an electrician making $20 an hour and a plumber making two dollars. The plumber is broke because he does not make enough money and the electrician has no work because the plumber cannot hire him. But if they were at parity, if they were equal both making, say, $10 an hour, they could exchange their goods and services and the wheels of the economy go round. We have a wonderful nation, an educated populace, raw materials; if Canada was an island, we should all live like kings.

By attempting what is commonly called in our circle "a cheap food policy", we are lowering the level of economic activity in this country. Whatever you are prepared to give your primary industry or pay for those services, those goods, is what they have to spend and come back and buy yours. Traditionally, if you look over the statistics of the last 60 years, there is a one-to-one relationship between unemployment and farm price, farm price leading by about 12 months. It is a very constant, and in my book, — and my publisher said I had to mention that or I am not going to eat tonight — this is Farm Gate defence and on the chapter on economics, I have a graph that parallels the two for the last 60 years. I hope the people begin to realize the number of farmers working off the farm in Manitoba is exactly equal to the unemployed in Manitoba. In Bruce County, where I come from, in 1982 we had 3,500 farmers, 51 per cent of them were working off the farm. There were 1,700 unemployed in Bruce County. If those farmers could make a living on the farm, we would have to import 50 people to fill the jobs.

People have to realize that the last depression was not solved by the Second World War. Wars destroy, wars kill. It angers me no end to hear people talk that we need a war to solve this thing. We are not going to have 20 minutes of prosperity, I suppose. What gave this misguided conception was not the war, it was the means they used to finance the war. Carl Wilkins, the father of raw material economics in 1941 went to the secretary of war of the United States of America and said: You cannot go to war. You are broke, you will lose, you are bankrupt. But, if you restore the purchasing power of the North American farmer, you will have prosperity and you will be able to finance the war. He convinced that man and they tied in what is commonly called the "Steegle Amendment" which gave fair or parity, a balanced price, to agricultural products. They not only financed the war, they financed the Marshall plan and led the U.S. to a position of royal dominance, strictly on a balanced internal economy. It was done before, it can be done again. This is fact, this is not theory, which most of our politicians work on.

I promised Dennis I would not speak too long. There are a couple of messages I wanted to leave with you. You realize that, as you try to protect your own positions and increase the quality of your own life, you are severely limited by the other people in society. You cannot raise yourself very much above someone else. You are your brother's keeper. In these troubled times — and believe me, this thing is going to get a lot worse before it begins to get better — you must stand together in your local communities to make sure people do not lose their homes through economic conditions beyond their control. You must stand united to make this thing visible. And I think of a couple of days ago when I was on the golf course with Dennis McDermott, I don't know if it was just the sunny day that gave him the strength or the champagne breakfast we had, but he went out and he teed-off and he took a mighty swing and the ball went about 20 feet and rested on an ant hill. He kind of looked around to see if anyone had noticed, stepped over very quickly and took another mighty swing before we could notice, took out half the ant hill, killed 5,000 ants with one swing, and never touched the ball. He looked around kind of sheepishly, pulled the club back and took another mighty swing, took out the other half of the ant hill, killed 4,998 ants, but still never touched the ball. There are two ants left and this is the message I have to you: one ant said to the other, you know if we are going to survive this thing, we had better get on the ball.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I think we are going to keep him around. We now adjourn until 9:30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

(The Convention adjourned at 4:55 p.m.)

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 1984
Morning Session

President Dennis McDermott called the Convention to order at 9:40 a.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I understand that our friends, The Travellers have a modified, somewhat perverted satirical version of Solidarity Forever which you have before you. I now call upon them to sing it.

The convention will please come to order. I call upon the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

MR. I. REILLY (Credentials Committee Chairman): Mr. Chairman, delegates, the second report of the Credentials Committee:

Fraternal delegates	3
ICFTU representative	1
Congress officers	4
Representatives of affiliated organizations	100
Federations of Labour	20
Labour Councils	84
Locals of affiliated organizations	2,065
Directly chartered unions	17
for an interim total of	2,294

I move this interim report, on behalf of the Committee.

MS. L. NICHOLSON (Credentials Committee Secretary): Support.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You heard the report of the Committee. All those in favour of adoption, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

EDUCATION COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The first item on the agenda this morning is the report of the Education Committee.

MR. J. ROSE (Education Committee Chairman): We will deal with ten resolutions on education that you find in the Resolutions Book, also with Document 12, which contains the Report of the Education Committee. Due to time constraints, we will be going through the resolutions in an amended order so that we deal with some of the most important ones first.

Let me now turn over the microphone to Gord Wilson, the Secretary who will start if off with Resolution Ed-1, as amended.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): Resolution Ed-1, amended:

> "WHEREAS many untrained workers are permanently disabled or killed; and
>
> "WHEREAS many of these workers are fresh out of school without any training in occupational health and safety;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC and provincial federations petition provincial governments to pass legislation to have occupational health and safety taught in the secondary and vocational schools."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence as amended, supported by the Chairman.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The Committee recommendation is concurrent. Discussion? Ready to vote? All those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Opposed. Motion is carried.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): Thank you. Resolution Ed-3, as amended:

> "WHEREAS Education Restraint Programs will mean teacher layoffs, program cuts, oversized classes and quite possibly school closures and in general will have the effect of lowering the quality and variety of education; and
>
> "WHEREAS the education of our children is a basic right and is one of our greatest resources for a prosperous future;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress demand that provincial and federal governments not compromise the education of our children, but increase and expand educational programs so our children will be qualified to fill the highly technical fields that will become available."

We move concurrence, supported by the Chairperson of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Again, the motion is one of concurrence. Discussion? If not, all those in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): Mr. Chairman, the next Resolution is Ed-2.

> "WHEREAS union members living on the lower mainland and in large cities can attend school at night and on weekends, and increase their knowledge in subjects of interest to labour; and
>
> "WHEREAS union members living in small towns and villages in the interior and on the prairies have no such courses available to them; and
>
> "WHEREAS there are no correspondence courses available from the central labour organizations that could assist our members;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress instruct the officers to actively participate, encourage and promote in making more correspondence courses available in the field of labour studies to the membership."

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, supported by the Chairman, I move referral to the Executive Council with this explanation that the resolution deals with the allocation of funds and staff resources which should properly be dealt with at that level.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. The motion is to refer. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed. Motion is carried.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): Resolution to Ed-9; as amended:

> "WHEREAS mentally, physically and psychologically handicapped persons are being deinstitutionalized; and
>
> "WHEREAS programs for the 'learning disabled' are currently inadequate; and
>
> "WHEREAS English as a second language programs for immigrants to this country have been cut back or eliminated entirely; and
>
> "WHEREAS computer education has become a necessity even at the elementary school levels; and
>
> "WHEREAS our unemployed young people need training for the technological revolution and educational opportunities for placement in a computerized environment; and
>
> "WHEREAS students are facing increased training and tuition fees, fewer courses to select from and fewer student or training positions;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC federations of labour and affiliates continue to oppose government cutbacks in education, at any or all levels, as counter-productive to the welfare of society as a whole and the welfare of individuals in particular."

On behalf of the Committee, seconded by the Chairperson, we move concurrence.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is one of concurrence. Discussion? All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed. Motion is carried.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary: I refer the delegates to Resolution Ed-5.

> "BE IT RESOLVED that the federal government insist that the education monies given to the province of British Columbia be used only for education, keeping in mind that the Canadian Constitution states that education is a right and not a privilege."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, supported by the Chairperson of the Committee with the hope that someone from Victoria Labour Council will be a little more explicit concerning the content and subject matter of the resolution.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Motion of concurrence. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed. Motion is carried. At this point in time, I ask the members of the General Resolutions Committee to please come to the platform.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): Thank you. I refer the delegates to Resolution No. Ed-6, amended:

> "WHEREAS governments in Canada finance business schools and other educational activities designed for the employers of this country; and
>
> "WHEREAS unions in this country should have an equal right to financing for labour education; and
>
> "WHEREAS labour education, by producing a more informed and educated corps of union leaders, encourages proper decision-making and assists in the operation of a productive labour relations system;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention demand the federal and provincial governments to make available increased labour education grants based on an appropriate percentage of total educational expenditures."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, supported by the Chairperson.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Again a motion of concurrence. All those in favour of the motion please signify. Down. Opposed. Motion is carried.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): I refer the delegates to Resolution Ed-7.

> "WHEREAS the location of the Labour College of Canada at the University of Ottawa is at best a temporary situation as it was previously at the University of Montreal; and
>
> "WHEREAS an eight-week program annually cannot begin to meet the needs of keeping our members informed and educated about the rapid and complex changes that they are being confronted with on the job site;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress strike a sub-committee of the Executive Council to consider the feasibility of having our own 'bricks and mortar' Labour College in Canada which can be used on a year round basis; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a report on this matter be presented to the delegates at the 1986 convention containing specific recommendations."

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, supported by the Chairperson of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Motion is one of concurrence. Delegate on mike 4.

MR. J. DOWELL (CUPE, Local 2327): Of course I support the resolution but I have to make an observation that perhaps will not go down too well with some of the people. We have been talking about having our own bricks and mortar, our own labour college for many years now, in fact since the inception of the labour college in the early 1960s. At that time, in the early days I think the pioneers of the labour college could see it as being, preferably, an organization totally financed by the labour movement and the workers of Canada. I happen to be a member of the Board of Governors of the Labour College. It amazes me year after year that the labour movement, the rank and file, the affiliates are not supporting the labour college to the extent that we envisaged many many years ago. And I do not know what is happening. I think it is rather a shameful display on the part of us as workers, that we have an organization which is designed to give us the kind of labour education that perhaps the universities and the community colleges can't supply. And yet, we are not putting our money where our mouth is.

The fact of the matter is, and this might be the distasteful part of my comments, but I feel they have to be said, that: if it was not for the $174,000 of government grant money, I am not so sure how long the labour college would survive and I think it is something that the delegates will have to think about. If you want to be proud of your labour college, if you want to have your own bricks and mortar then I think you should go back to your local unions and take a look at what have you done to support the labour college.

I feel a little uneasy about taking this position but nevertheless I feel it has to be said. I am a little discouraged about the lack of debate on the educational matters. It seems that, year after year, I get up as one of the sole speakers on the question of education. Yet, when we leave the convention hall, everybody comes up with that magical phrase, more education. If we had education, our problems would be solved. I think we are applying double standards. We talk one way and we act another. I believe that the delegates have to take a more serious look at education rather than give it lip service. It will take a lot of money to provide the kind of programs that are essential in 1984 and right through the next ten or 15 years; because education is going to be the instrument whereby we bluntly attack the people who are trying to do a job on the labour movement.

I am not so sure that the second whereas really addresses the intent of the labour college. I think the labour college was designed for the kind of education that is beyond the on-going programs of all the affiliates during the years and we should be dealing with higher subject matters rather than the nitty-gritty of what goes on back in the local union. It is just a minor point.

MR. J. BENARD (NUPGE, OPSEU): It is a pleasure for me to be at this mike and ask our members' support on this recommendation. The labour movement cannot, must not deviate from the actual concept that was formed over the years by the Labour College of Canada. As unionists, we are responsible for the expansion and development of the college throughout the whole country. At a glance, I can recognize some of its graduates. They are just about everywhere at this convention.

The Labour College of Canada is an institution that we, as trade unionists, have a right to be proud of. For years the Labour College of Canada graduates have supported their alumni. This shows me that this unity is not only found on the picket line but is also very alive in the education field. The concept of a year-round labour college will enhance the strength of the labour movement in this country. It is now time to encourage the labour movement to expand its own power in the education field. Knowledge, education, awareness is the basis for solidarity, for strength and unity.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Anybody else? I concur with the remarks of Jimmy Dowell for a movement and delegates representing a movement whose single greatest facility I think is education. We have surprisingly little debate about it. On the motion which is one of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Opposed. Motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): The next resolution is Resolution Ed-8, as amended:

> "WHEREAS the Canadian and several provincial governments have taken advantage of present economic conditions to promulgate an unprecedented amount of anti-union legislation;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress expand its national program of education and organization to counter this attack."

The Committee moves concurrence on this resolution as amended, seconded by the Chairman.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is one of concurrence. All those in favour of the motion. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): The next resolution is Resolution Ed-4, as amended:

> "WHEREAS there is a lack of labour education in the Canadian school system; and

"WHEREAS it is important that labour education programs be an accurate account of the Canadian labour movement;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress develop a textbook that can be introduced into the school system in Canada."

Our recommendation is of referral to the incoming Executive Council with the slight amendment that we have made to the wording to delete the assertion that there's a complete lack of labour education in the Canadian school systems. It is not quite accurate. Our explanation for the referral is that there may be other forms of promulgating our viewpoint in the school system over and above that of a textbook. With that explanation, I move referral with the appropriate second from the Chairman of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. The motion is to refer. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. G. WILSON (Education Committee Secretary): The final resolution that we bring before you is Resolution T-6 which has been referred to this Committee by the Technology Committee.

"WHEREAS employers are presently introducing into the workplace technological innovations to gain greater control over the work process while weakening unions; and

"WHEREAS many workers are not able to train for other occupations because they lack basic literacy skills,

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress

1. Demand that the federal government establish legislative mechanisms that would require employers to ensure workers' rights are respected when technological changes are introduced; and
2. In co-operation with the New Democratic Party, continue to educate the Canadian people of the importance of this issue using all means available and;
3. Promote the development of adult basic education, (reading, basic computation and writing) to meet the literacy skills of all Canadians."

The original recommendation submitted by the Metropolitan Toronto Labour Council contains a fourth paragraph calling for an international conference on adult education. We did not feel that that was appropriate and so we are moving concurrence with this resolution with that amendment to delete the fourth paragraph of the "resolve". With that explanation, I move concurrence, seconded by the Chairman of the Committee.

MR. M. LYONS (UAW, Local 1535): I support this resolution and especially to bring to the attention of the delegates the importance of point 3 in the resolved, to promote the development of adult basic education. That seems to us, in metropolitan Toronto, to be a very vital issue. It is amazing the number of ways that members are not getting what they deserve simply because they lack what all of us take to be basic necessities in terms of education, as the Chairman of the Committee said, reading and writing. In metropolitan Toronto we had a membership in our labour council of about 170,000. Now of that number, we estimate 95,000 to 100,000 speak neither English nor French at all. What is happening to many of these people is they are not even getting the basic rights of reading and writing nor the basic rights that are contained in their collective agreements. We have seen cases where, under the terms of their collective agreement, jobs are posted on the bulletin boards so these people can be promoted. They are not even applying for those jobs where they have the skills, never mind for the ones that they do not have, simply because they cannot read the job-posting notice and so the company goes and brings in people from outside and the workers that are currently there wonder what is happening.

The other thing which we are losing through the fact that these people do not have these basic literacy skills is we are not getting their participation in the labour movement. They are not coming to local union meetings; they are not taking part in the labour councils and they are not here on the floor of this convention. I suggest that they do represent a very significant number of our members and unless we are in a position to be able to deliver these kinds of basic skills to our members, we are not even giving them the terms of the collective agreement that we worked so hard to bargain and we are certainly not leaving them in a position to be able to handle the tough jobs, the tough fights that are ahead in the future. I strongly urge the delegates to get involved. I do not think we have to leave it up totally to the Canadian Labour Congress. I would like to see local unions and labour councils in every municipality in this country try to develop some basic adult education courses and I think we should be delivering these courses right in the workplaces at the employer's expense if we can. It pays a tremendous dividend to the local unions, to the labour councils and eventually to the Canadian Labour Congress. I think it is time we ended the situation in Canada where I can pick up a newspaper, a metropolitan Toronto newspaper and see a headline that says that in the city of North York, (one of our municipalities, which has a population of about half a million) some 82,000 workers are functionally illiterate. We should make sure that it is stopped.

MS. C. MICKLEWRIGHT (BRAC, Local 1820): I rise in support of this resolution and I support the comments of the brother before me at the previous mike. I would like to tell the delegates about an organization called ALSO. I had an excellent experience over the weekend. I attended the Canadian Association of Labour Media conference in which I hold an executive position and we brought in a group of people call ALSO — Alternate Learning Styles, Ottawa. One of the objectives of this group is to try and raise the literacy level. We brought this group in to do an analysis of the labour newspapers that are produced by the different unions represented here. We did an analysis of how those newspapers are perceived and how they are understood by our members. It is quite clear that a lot of us will have to go back and start relooking at how we produce our newspapers and how we write and who our readership is because, as was mentioned, many of our readers do have English as a second language and they have some difficulty not just reading job postings but reading the literature that we are distributing. They have the same problem in interpreting collective agreements.

I can remember a worker in a mill who told me that some of his members only had grade 3 education and could not understand their collective agreement or any of their rights. I would like to promote ALSO because I think they provide a valuable experience in education, in teaching peoplle to improve their literacy; and the labour movement should be aware of them and should look towards them for help in educating and assisting their members. They do a lot of general education work for the public and they are a very important group.

Technological change certainly is a major problem that we have to deal with and we have not yet learned quite how to grapple with it. We're dealing with it now and education and retraining are very important. You have people who do not even have basic skills though we assume, that, just because you have a grade 12 education that you have skills. The fact is that some of the people are going through the school system and cannot even properly read and write. And if we are to retrain people that are not skilled and do not have understanding of basic functional literacy, we have a long way to go.

MR. J. TREACY (UAW, Local 222): There is an old saying, you can lead a horse to the water but you cannot make it drink. Most of you must realize that we have night schools here in Canada for anybody that wants to learn English and the problem that we face that most people from European background do not want to come in and get involved in the Canadian system. If you go into any factory in Canada, you will find certain groups and you might find nine or ten different languages. If you want to get in the mainstream of Canadian unionism, you have got to blend in. You cannot live in the Polish section, you cannot live in the Irish section, you cannot live in the German section. You have got to be part of the team and unless you want to be part of that team, you will not get involved.

Now, one other problem we have also is in the school system. If you look across this country we have about 15 or 20 different school systems and as long as everybody teaches their own sections, you will not get people involved. Unless the government does something where you get the people involved, I doubt that the union can do anything.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. On the motion, all those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried. Chairman of the Committee.

MR. J. ROSE (Education Committee Chairman): Since you have adopted all of the recommendations that we have for you this morning, I will dispense with the formality of moving the entire report because you have in effect already done that and we will excuse ourselves with thanks to my colleagues on the Committee and thank you to all for your thoughtful attention.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Before we get to the next item on the agenda, I want to announce a change in the program this morning. The report of the Committee on Economic Policy will be postponed momentarily; because of the referral yesterday, that Committee is still grappling with the proposed changes in the policy statement so we will have the Legislation Committee replacing them at approximately 11:45.

ADDRESS BY ED BROADBENT
Federal Leader of the New Democratic Party

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We have a very good friend, a young man with considerable commitment, displayed energy, a good friend of the working people in this country, the leader of our party, Ed Broadbent, with us this morning. He and his party, despite the political unpopularity of all of this, opposed wage controls, and the War Measures Act. Throughout his political career, he has never deviated, nor has that band of extremely hard working and dedicated people that he has there. This is the leader of the party that we want to see come to power in this country; that will lead us out of the wilderness, Ed Broadbent.

MR. E. BROADBENT (Leader, New Democratic Party): Greetings, Dennis, greetings, delegates; it is a pleasure to be here in Montreal, a pleasure to be with you, a pleasure to be amidst friends, friends with whom we waged the battle for a fairer society in Canada.

I want to begin, my friends, with a little story. Dennis indicated in his opening comments that we had fought together in the past in a number of common causes. Nothing could be truer. Just a few months ago in the only English daily in the city of Ottawa, the *Ottawa Citizen*, there appeared a cartoon and the cartoon was of me and I was portrayed in the following manner: it had me as leader of the New Democratic Party in a hard hat, in jeans, carrying a lunch bucket. The whole message intended of that cartoon was that this was a source of criticism for the leader of a political party in Canada.

I want to say to you that Brian Mulroney may wear his Gucci shoes, that John Turner may appear in his Brook Brothers suit, but I am delighted any day to be portrayed as a man who lives and works like the working people of Canada. You people know in some way better than I, that the times we are living in are difficult. All across this land of ours, in both official languages, be it in English or in French, here in Quebec or in British Columbia, in the East or in the West, it is the same battle. It is a battle against the ordinary working people of our land, men and women, whether they are in trade unions or out. We have experienced that together and we know in the political movement which I am proud to be at this particular time, that the polls indicate that all is not well.

I want to say two brief things about the polls. The first is this: our Members of Parliament, elected in different regions, have told us that they are doing reasonably well in their constituencies, and that is what the men and women of their towns and villages tell them. So we conducted our own poll about a month ago and that poll showed, in those regions of Canada that now elect New Democrats, the following: the Liberals are running third in those areas, the Conservatives are running second and the New Democratic Party Members of Parliament, according to that poll conducted by a private organization, will be winning their seats if an elecion were held today. But I also want to say to you that this party of ours, like the trade union movement of Canada, indeed the trade union movement around the world and the Social Democratic Party movement around the world, was not created by men and women who followed polls. It was not started by people who said we have to wet out finger and hold it in the air and see what way the wind is blowing. That is the kind of use is made of polls by Liberals and Conservatives in this land of ours. That is the kind of attitude that would be taken by some people who would want to back down in terms of the struggles that you have been successful in winning so far.

So I want to underline this morning to you my clear expectation that there will be an election likely in August and, if not in August, in early fall, and my clear expectation is, in terms of the polls, we are going to be improving, we are going to be doing better, not worse. But, whatever the polls say, the principles and programs of the democratic socialist movement for which this party came into being will be defended right down the line, whatever the polls may say.

We have had a very severe recession for two years, with the following results: a scaling down of pensions and family allowances, cutbacks in health insurance and education programs. The equality for women programs were dropped and, no doubt, the saddest of all, we lost 400,000 full-time jobs.

I have no intention of going over with you in detail the kind of setback from a statistical point of view we have had in the last couple of years in Canada. You know it, your friends and neighbours know it, in a much more graphic and meaningful way than I can describe by any statistical indicators. But I do want to say something today about two fundamental matters, two among four of five that we will be discussing in the coming campaign. One of these concerns jobs or employment; the other concerns taxation.

But I want first to say something about how the Liberal government in Canada, that gang of uncaring and cynical manipulators that is now running through a beauty contest to elect a new candidate for what they hope will be the Prime Minister once again. I want to speak bluntly, honestly, clearly, about how they have approached the current crisis. And I do want to go on to say the kind of direction that the New Democratic Party believes that this land of ours should be taking.

What have the Liberals done in the past couple of years in response to the most serious recession since the war? Bluntly stated they have done two things. Marc Lalonde in his last April budget gave $2.7 billion to the corporations and he gave additional millions of dollars in tax cuts, note this, in tax cuts, 20 per cent reduction to the top three or four per cent of income earners. So there were tax cuts for rich individuals, there were tax hand-outs to the big corporations. The theory, as I am sure you will have heard it from time to time, is the trickle down theory, that the money given to those who already have power and wealth will be reinvested, jobs will be created, then the women will come back to work, the social programs that have been cut back can then be restarted again. That is the theory; that is what Marc Lalonde said last April, that is what Allan MacEachen has said, that is what Trudeau has said in the House of Commons. You know that it has not worked. The $2.7 billion that was given by Lalonde to the corporations was not invested in Canada. Investment last year in this country was down, not up. Investment intentions for this year, I regret to say, are down, not up. But two billion dollars was taken by Canadian companies last year and invested outside of our land. That is what they did with the tax cut and the trickle down to private individuals that was supposed to take place sure has not happened either and I will come back to that in a minute.

But I want to say to you with all the passion that I can muster, that there is one thing in my youth that caused me some 20 years ago to become a social democrat philosophically. It is the view in this rich land of ours, and it is rich in terms of resource potential, it is a national disgrace that we have a million and a half unemployed and it is time that the Liberals in this country of ours recognize their theory is not working, change the theory and put everyone back to work.

Before I say something about our approach to that, I do want to turn to the Conservative Party for a minute; that is 60 seconds more than they deserve, but I will do it. Brian Mulroney, in his Gucci shoes, or out of them in the shower, has said that all the Tories needed to do was replace Joe Clark with a guy with an Irish accent from another part of Canada and he would lead the way to a new land. I will give any delegate here $100 to anyone of you who can name a single new policy announced by Brian Mulroney in economics since he has become leader. Having made that offer, I know I will not lose a cent when I leave this Convention. Brian Mulroney has not been talking very much about economic policy, precisely because John Crosbie has. John Crosbie is that Newfoundlander who talks almost incessantly. I want to say to you some of the things that he has had to say recently to perhaps explain the silence of Brian Mulroney. I was flying not long ago, last fall actually, from Ottawa to western Canada, reading what is available in our national airlines — it is a pretty limited selection — anywhere from the centre to just right of Genghis Khan, you can find literature there in terms of what should be done in our country politically. Well, I was reading our self-described national magazine and it had an interview with John Crosbie and he was being asked to tell the people of Canada, as a former minister of finance for Joe Clark, as the present finance critic for Brian Mulroney, to tell Canadians what he would do? What did Crosbie reply? He said, and I quote: "If we told them what we would do, we would never be elected." He said it. Well, I have seen a lot of bizarre statements, but even I was taken aback. I reread it and sure enough, it was there in quotation marks.

A week later, in Ottawa, outside the House of Commons, inside the main building, is a place called the scrum where these people in the media interview politicians. That is where they come to correct outside the House all the errors they made inside the House, just a few minutes before. Well, John Crosbie came out and he was being pursued again about what the Conservatives would do instead of the Liberals and he said we would have to do a lot of things that would be nasty and mean, said John Crosbie. Rather bizarre coming from a politician, but rather honest coming from a Conservative. A week later, this non-stop talking Newfoundlander, who poses as a representative of the people of his province, was interviewed by the *Toronto Star*. He was asked to give an illustration of what a Conservative government would actually do and he said we would have to put an end to the universality principle in pensions and in family allowances.

What that means, in terms that the men and women I represent in Oshawa can understand and that you understand, and that I understand very well, is the Tories would introduce a means test in family allowances, a means test in pensions, a means test in the whole range of social programs that we have taken 25 to 30 years to build up in this country. Although I have been light and kidding in a sense about Crosbie, I want to be dead earnest now because we have seen in one province of Canada the future of Canada if the Conservatives are elected.

We have seen it in British Columbia with a Bennett government, a Bennett government that had three Cabinet ministers working at the Tory convention to see that Brian Mulroney was elected, a government in British Columbia that had the principal adviser to the premier acting as an adviser to Mulroney at his convention, a government in British Columbia that now has destroyed programs for senior citizens, torn up programs to aid the sick, dismantled the educational system, has just introduced what Gordon Fairweather, our national human rights commissioner, has called the worst human rights legislation in Canada, a government that is destroying fundamental democratic labour rights.

What has Brian Mulroney, leader of the Conservative Party, would-be Prime Minister, said about the Bennett government? He has said Bill Bennett is moving in the right direction. So I say to you, as delegates at this convention, if the Liberals have been cynical and uncaring, the Conservatives would be no better, Canadians must understand it and I want you to know that the New Democratic Party that, in our whole history has worked to create these and shared with you the act of creation of rights for all Canadians, will not stand by and watch the old line parties destroy our nation.

The Liberals and Tories represented, as they soon will be, by two corporation lawyers who have had experience representing two different banks in the past are not different at all and we should understand that clearly. They are both saying right now the way to deal with the economy, as I said, to give the money to the corporations and hope that they will bail us out, unfettered giveaways to the corporations or, and it is related to it, and I do not mistake it, they said we can continue with 10, 12, or 14 per cent unemployment for some years to come until the market really sorts things out. Both of them are saying that.

But we in the New Democratic Party believe that full employment is not naive, it is not utopian, it is indeed an achievable goal; it is time we realize that other nations, now, in 1984, have virtually full employment. It is time in this land of ours that we shed the old approaches, time that we have a government in Ottawa that listens to ordinary Canadians and not just the banks and the great corporations, time that we had a government that listens to and works with ordinary working men and women wherever they live in this land.

We have the resources, natural and human, for a fully employed Canada. Today is not the occasion to spell out in great detail our approach to achieving that goal but I sure want to indicate some specific approaches that I will be spelling out that should be taken. We can, in Canada, upgrade our fishery and forestry and other resource sectors to make sure that we get more jobs from them, including the finished product jobs that would come if we developed those resources here instead of exporting them abroad to other countries to develop for us.

We could be replacing imported machinery and equipment of all kinds that is used to develop our resources. That would provide jobs. We could be reducing and should be reducing, as we did 25 years ago, the number of working hours per week for men and women so that they can share on an equitable basis the jobs. We can and should be involving workers and communities themselves in proposing and implementing and creating new job opportunities and we will have a fair bit to say about that in the coming weeks.

And instead of cutting back, I want to say to you, as the father of an 11-year old daughter, instead of cutting back now on programs that were intended to achieve equality for women, a man, I repeat, who has not only an 11-year daughter but a 24-year old son, I want to see, at the very latest, by the end of the decade a Canada where my daughter's opportunity in the workplace would be every bit as good as the opportunities of my son.

And again, and I say this as a man who has had some training in economics and I say to you, because I know them to be suspicious of people who talk that way, but I have read some of the texts and some of the articles in trying to keep myself informed, but nothing is more economically and morally irresponsible than the billion dollar handouts that go on year in and year out in this country by the government from ordinary taxpayers to the large corporations in the naive hope that if we just give them the money, they will act on our benefit.

So I want to say to you, that has not been the practice in Sweden or Norway or in Denmark or in Saskatchewan, when we had a government there, or in Manitoba. It has not been practised by the social democrats anywhere in the world who believe in a mixed economy. They believe that we must have a tax policy that ensures that the corporations work in our interest, not just in their own, so I say to you, right now, an NDP government would say to a corporation, with a million and a half unemployed: yes, if you create a job you will get a tax benefit; yes, if you introduce retraining programs that make your men and women more competitive with the outside world, you will get a tax benefit or a credit of some sort; yes, if you purchase machinery produced in one part of Canada to modernize your enterprise, because that too provides some jobs, a sensible government corporate tax policy would provide a benefit. But I also say to you, because the money comes from other taxpayers, it is time to put a complete end to the blank cheque corporate give-aways of the Liberals and the Tories.

The points that I have alluded to will be developed in specific form on other occasions, some of which we have already done in the past so there are things that can be done. I want to say this to you, as men and women who are on the front line, who are out there living all across this land, it is rubbish what the Liberals and the Conservatives are saying to us, that we have to go on living with 10 or 11 or 12 per cent unemployment. It is not true. There are other countries now, very different countries with virtually full employment. They live in the same international world that we do. Sweden, Austria, Japan, three different countries without nearly the resources that we have in Canada, but where unemployment is at three per cent to four per cent or 4.5 per cent.

I will tell you the difference between those countries and ours; it is not the technological knowledge that is needed to create jobs. There are no great mysteries about that in the twentieth century; the difference between those countries and ours is that they have a government that is committed to full employment. They have a government that says men and women should not be treated like cattle; and I say to you that it is time we had the same approach in Canada. It is time we set targets, the Liberals and the Tories, who have voted with them, did it for inflation. They had their six and five program. Why not set targets for unemployment? We are saying we should have them, bring down unemployment, three per cent next year, three per cent the year after, three per cent the year after that and we can have full employment. What we need, I repeat, is not ideas, they are around, we need a government that has the will, the political will to bring that about.

So I say to you in this land of ours, with a million and a half unemployed, now is the time in the world for Canada to declare nuclear peace but it is time that, here at home, we declared war on unemployment.

There is another economic matter that I want to mention to you this morning, and that does concern taxes. It was not long ago, although sometimes I feel it was a very long time, that I became, in my thinking, a social democrat and that meant in Canada a New Democrat. The concern about men and women getting jobs is fundamental. But there is another concern that I have always had and that is the question of fairness in society. And I am scandalized frankly at the indifference of many of our people to what the Liberals and Conservatives are allowed to get away with in our land.

Many of you are here from Atlantic Canada; a month ago, I was in Fredericton, Saturday morning, talking to people and I ran into a pensioner, a woman. She came up to me and said, "Mr. Broadbent, I live on two pensions, the old age security and a small private pension that my dead husband has left for me." She gave the the income figure, I do not have the precise dollar value, but I do know that it was right at the poverty level. The point she made was that she has to pay several hundred dollars in income tax on those pension cheques. About once a month I go to my own constituency in Oshawa and I spend Saturday listening to the men and women who come to see me as the man they elected to look after them, their political concerns. I listen to unemployed men and women and they tell me that they have to pay income tax on their unemployment insurance cheques. Last week, I was in British Columbia and I talked to an IWA worker in that province who had been out of work for over a year; after 52 weeks, his unemployment insurance ran out and he had to pay $900 or more in income tax when he was trying to pay off his mortgage and support a couple of children.

All of you who are working pay a lot of taxes and you are prepared to pay your share, I know that. I also want to say to you that, in this land of ours, contrary to what the Tories and the Liberals say, we do not have one of the best tax systems in the world, we have one of the most unfair tax systems. There are 239 Canadians, a couple of years ago who earned in the neighbourhood of $635,000 a year who did not pay a cent in income tax. There are another 793 Canadians who earn between $100,000 and $150,000 who did not pay a penny in income tax but could go out and buy a new Cadillac without any difficulty. There are thousands who earn over $60,000 a year who pay no taxes.

So we tax pensioners, we tax unemployed, we tax ordinary workers; but the rich are getting away without paying. I am telling you that the New Democratic Party and only the New Democratic Party is responding. Those loopholes were put in place, many of them by John Turner, kept there by Jean Chrétien as the minister of finance, voted for by the Tories; only the NDP is saying, as long as the poor and the workers are paying their taxes, it is time the rich paid their share.

In the past, in this land of ours, the New Democratic Party and the CCF provided a voice for those who needed it. When there was a need for pensions at the end of the thirties, it was J.S. Woodsworth and Stanley Knowles who led the battle for pensions; and, in the minority government at that time, managed to get our first pension plan. It was the Liberals and the Tories who had opposed it. Two decades later, when the sick were being ravaged by hospital bills, let alone the illness in their families, it was Tommy Douglas in the NDP that fought the battle to bring us medicare and the Liberals and the Conservatives opposed it. They provided a voice for the ordinary people of our land in the past and I want you to know, in terms of today's problems, it is the New Democratic Party that plans to provide a voice for the ordinary women and men of our land too. Today, as in the past, there are two political voices.

I have described some of the problems that you know well, today in 1984. On one side, facing these problems, there is a voice that says, we do not need a change in the tax system, a voice that says women have already made enough progress, a voice that says that workers must now give up their rights, a voice that says that we must continue to live with unemployment for some years to come. That, my friends, is the voice of the past, it is the voice of either the Liberals or the Conservatives, whatever their fancy manner or whatever their rhetoric.

Well, there is another voice in the land and that voice says that we can have tax reform in Canada, that we can achieve equality for women, that we should be extending, not reducing workers' rights, that we can and should establish full employment as a goal. That is the voice of the future, it is a voice provided by you, men and women in the trade union movement and in the political scene, a voice provided by the NDP.

And I want you to know that an election will be called either in July or August or the early fall. I also want you to know in that context that we, in this movement of ours, will fight as we have never fought before. We, in this movement said, in 1979 and 1980, we would not be wiped out, we would elect more MPs and indeed we doubled our seats in those elections. We are saying that we will elect more New Democrats than ever before in the coming election and I deeply believe it but I also believe it because I know you, and what you represent in the trade union movement back in your own areas, you will be struggling with us.

I know that you and the New Democrats together want to create a different Canada and I know in that election, when it comes, together, we will produce the best results ever, because what we want to do is to turn the old ways in Canada upside down so we can turn Canada the right side up. Thank you.

(Standing ovation)

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Well Ed, I think that reception speaks for itself. The delegates of this Convention represent two million constituents out there, multiplied by the number of eligible voters and their families, their friends and their neighbours. In the next election, they will make sure that you are returned. You keep the faith with us, we keep the faith with you, and we keep toiling in the vineyards of democracy and before too long, perhaps not this year, but eventually, you and we, working together, will get this country back into the hands of the people to whom it properly belongs in the first place, the decent majority, the working majority.

We are now ready for the report of the Committee on Political Education. We have a video introduction to that Committee report.

POLITICAL EDUCATION FILM

"The history of the trade union movement demonstrates the power of collective action in securing economic justice. Collective bargaining has given working people the strength to make immense progress. But more recent history also shows the limitations of bargaining and the pressing need for other types of collective action. Canadian workers have seen their benefits, hard-won at the bargaining table, taken away by oppressive government policies. Those same government policies have pushed hundreds of thousands of union members onto the unemployment and welfare roles, where negotiations with employers can do little to help them.

"The solution lies in another form of collective strength, political action; the same solidarity and organizational structure that make unions so effective in negotiations can be put to work to change government policies so they benefit rather than victimize working people.

"Much progress has already been made in putting union organizational skills to work for political action. The on-the-job canvass uses existing contacts with union members to educate them about the consequences of government policies and the legislative solutions that are possible.

"Labour has also been at the forefront of mass protest against oppressive government policies, such as wage controls and high interest rates. And the CLC-sponsored publicity campaign brought the same message directly to the public.

"By forming coalitions with other victims of government policies, the labour movement has expressed its own views to a wider public, and, at the same time, shown government that it represents working people on issues that go beyond the workplace.

"An angry school teacher tells a Socred delegate just what he thinks about budget cuts: 'I teach 170 kids a week, and you bastards are cutting me back like you wouldn't believe. And you make me puke. I am not going to talk about it anymore, I am sick and tired of talking with a bunch of fascist idiots, you pea brain.'

"Labour has also worked together with the New Democratic Party to fight for progressive legislation, such as universal medicare, rent controls, human rights and income security for the elderly and the poor and NDP provincial governments have implemented these measures.

"Further progress on political action will require a greater integration of legislative and bargaining objectives as CLC political education co-ordinator, Pat Kerwin explains: 'As labour takes on issues like unemployment, job security, technological change, what we want to do is integrate into the unions the process put around collective bargaining in an ordinary communication with its members more of the implications of the legislative process for these basic issues facing trade union members.

" 'I think it is important that we not tell members how to vote but we point out to them the choices facing them on a day-to-day basis so that when we come to important events like the 1984 federal election, people realize that the alternative facing them is not just a pretty face, but there are serious implications for their job security, pensions, and other basic concerns.'

"Working people can have a greater influence in determining the laws and government policies that affect their lives but it will take a greater commitment of resources to do it. Now, the Political Education Committee presents its paper on political action."

MR. W. PARSONS (Political Education Committee Chairman): We will be dealing with Document No. 24 which is the policy statement on political action as well as the political education resolutions beginning on page 122 of the Resolutions Book.

MR. D. GAGNON (PSAC, Local 10120): Brother Chairman, we did not receive the Document No. 24.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Is that one table or the whole section? All right. Will the people handling the documentation please take note, get the appropriate document over there. This is the entire section over there to my left. Any other indicators? All right. It will take a few minutes, we will get it to you.

MR. J. GILL (Political Education Committee Secretary): Document No. 24, which you should have now is, "Policy Statement on Political Action".

POLICY STATEMENT ON POLITICAL ACTION

"The second Convention of the CLC, in 1958, started the movement for a New Party with the adoption of a resolution calling for the 'establishment of a new, broadly-based political movement which embraces the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the labour movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded people.' Under the chairmanship of Stanley Knowles, who was then a CLC Executive Vice-President, the CLC and the CCF worked together to launch the New Democratic Party in 1961.

"Since that time, we have achieved many successes together. NDP provincial governments have introduced many legislative firsts such as universal medicare; pharmacare for seniors; dental care for pensioners and for children; rent controls; minimum income for working poor; equal pay for work of equal value; right to refuse unsafe work; and other progressive labour laws.

"At the federal level, the NDP has used its influence in the minority government to achieve the indexing of old age pensions and the establishing of Petro-Canada. When wage controls were introduced, only the NDP voted against them in the House of Commons. In the last federal election, the NDP received a greater vote and elected more members than ever before.

"Yet today, labour and the political party it formed are under severe attack. Not only are future gains in doubt, but past victories are being reversed. Social Credit and Conservative provincial governments have given us a warning of what a Conservative Government might do nationally. The contenders for the Liberal leadership do not promise any improvement in the unemployment problem. Only New Decmorats understand the hopes and aspirations of working Canadians and will be a voice for them in Parliament.

"The next federal election will be a crucial one for labour's credibility in the electoral process. We must put a maximum effort into re-electing Ed Broadbent and his caucus of New Democrats. In the past, New Democrats have been the ones to push programs that were fair and just for Canadians. Now more than ever, it is important to maintain that voice in Ottawa.

"If we are to be successful in this goal we must talk with our members on the vital issues, such as job security. Too many workers now want to dump the Liberal Party that brought us wage controls and high unemployment for a Conservative Party that voted for Liberal measures such as C-124 (Wage Controls), C-3 (Cutbacks in Unemployment Insurance and increase in burden paid by workers) and C-6 (The Bank Act which protects the interests of the banks) and which may likely create more unemployment as it cuts spending on job-creation programs. Both these parties want to direct the benefits of the recovery to the rich. Only the NDP has joined with us in arguing for a fair recovery.

"Our members receive the same messages from the media as do other Canadians. Thus they often tend to accept the employers' arguments that are repeated there. At our last Convention, we stood up to these arguments that demanded concessions from workers. Together we resisted this assault on our hard-won gains. This year we must take the message to our members on what is at stake at the ballot box.

"We did not win the concessions battle simply by passing a resolution. We did it by taking our views to the union hall, the workplace, the bargaining table and into homes of workers. Our battle on the legislative front will also not be won merely by passing this policy statement.

"We must take the message to our brothers and sisters across the country. Using all forms of communication including union meetings, union papers, the on-the-job canvass and the telephone canvass, we must present the issues and their political implications to our members. This is an on-going process that should be built on national issues common to all unions and on issues specific to individual affiliates.

"This involvement should begin with each one of us. All of us should be active workers and financial supporters of the NDP. The Party is not an abstract entity, it is us. We must be New Democrats.

"Everyone acknowledges that the CCF and NDP have been the conscience of Canada and the voice of the ordinary Canadian in Parliament. However, many people refuse to vote for them because they are not seen to have a chance. But if everyone took the time to look at the implication of their vote for their lives and their children's future, then New Democrats would have a real chance.

"If you ask people, most acknowledge that neither of the old-line parties represent the interests of ordinary Canadians. People want a fair deal, and they know they are not getting it. They see government tax breaks to corporations producing more profits and less employment. The lack of jobs for young people is not fair. They don't think it fair to pay exorbitant interest rates for homes and cars while bank profits soar.

"A government of New Democrats would produce fairer programs. If Canadians followed the example of people in countries like Greece, Spain, France, Sweden, Australia, Portugal and Venezuela, we could elect such a government. This result can only be achieved if we take the message back to our fellow workers, their families and friends. Together we can elect a government that will give a fair deal to the decent, working people of the country."

MS. N. RICHE (Political Education Committee Member): On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence; seconded by W. Parsons.

MS. J. LANGAN (ITU, Local 868): As vice-president of the B.C. Federation of Labour and a vice-president of the B.C. NDP, I would like to address one line in this document that says, "now more than ever, we need our party, the NDP." And I would like to tell you why, from a British Columbia perspective.

I have heard many delegates say that they are not prepared to wait for four years for a solution to the political problems we as workers face. But I suggest to you that the solution is political. In British Columbia last May, British Columbians re-elected a Socred government, a government that lobbied and campaigned on the issue of jobs, a government that has been in such a hurry to create jobs in B.C. that they have escalated our unemployment rate to number 2. We are following only Newfoundland. When you are number 2 you have to try harder and I am here to tell you that Bill Bennett is trying very hard to be number 1 in unemployment in this country.

The Socred government was re-elected with a five per cent, or thereabout, mandate and they have taken that mandate and they have systematically, with the introduction last July of 26 bills, destroyed the very fabric that the labour movement and working people in this country have come to know as being Canadian. They have dismantled everything that represents quality of life, dignity and caring. We have Cabinet Ministers in British Columbia who get up when we want to talk about jobs and say that British Columbians are thankful to be in British Columbia living on welfare.

I want to tell you that, as a result of the 26 bills, we spoke out, we organized, we demonstrated. You saw a little bit of it on the clip before this document was introduced. We had demonstrations like British Columbia has never seen before and we have worked for almost a year now, day and night against Bill Bennett's Social Credit government and what have we got? After all of that work and all of that action, we still have Bill Bennett and the Socreds. We have Bill Bennett who tells all of us who are fighting against him that we are bad B.C.ers. We have Bill Bennett who rubbed our nose in it by introducing Bill 28, amendments to the Labour Code. If we had spent half as much energy as trade unionists in Operation Solidarity, as community people in the solidarity coalition, fighting before the last provincial election, we would not be fighting this fight today in British Columbia.

Those of you who live under a Conservative government in this country are facing the same thing. Your premiers have learned a very valuable lesson. Do not introduce 26 bills at once because people will fight back. Introduce them one at a time insidiously and destroy the fabric of this country.

We have a federal election coming up and I am shocked at how many brothers and sisters say: "I am voting Conservative because I am fed up with the Liberals." And Mulroney and the boys are counting on you to deliver the vote. If Mulroney gets in, what happened in B.C. is only the beginning, the fight will be on and we will not just be bad British Columbians, we will be bad Canadians, fighting conservatism.

I urge you, work now, prepare now and fight now, now more than ever. If every worker in Canada voted NDP to defeat the Liberals, we would be the government, the New Democratic Party would be the government in Ottawa and not the Liberals and not the Conservatives.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): I rise in opposition to the motion, not because I believe that the Liberals or the Conservatives will provide a solution but because I do not think that the NDP stands for the genuine and real interest of the workers in Canada. I just want to speak on one aspect of the NDP's program to provide jobs.

The NDP is saying that what is needed is structural changes to attain a traditional rate of full employment in Canada. What structural changes are they proposing? At this Congress and when you hear the speakers from the NDP, lip service is paid to the idea that it is the powerful economic interests who are responsible for the problem of unemployment. But the NDP does not propose as a solution that the workers should fight for socialism. The Ontario NDP policy statement says: we must soon either choose to share the work there is to do on a basis that is fair or allow powerful economic interests and the market system to condemn millions of workers to a life of economic deprivation and social insignificance. The NDP is saying that the problem is technology, that there is only so much work to go around, and that as the only solution, we workers must accept to share the jobs and share the unemployment as well.

Fellow workers, this is not a line of fighting for a right to a job. It is a line of capitulating to the conditions of mass unemployment which exists under capitalism. If the problem is modern technology, why is it that factories and plants are closed and idle, that in Canada the productive capacity runs at less than 70 per cent when thousands and millions of people are living without even the barest necessities of food, clothing and shelter. Yes, there is a crisis of over-production but this is not a crisis that there is not enough work to go around. It is a crisis which exists because in this society the only motive for production is to make profit. This is not a crisis of over-production in terms of meeting the people's needs and it is not a question that there are not enough jobs to go around. We cannot fight this by accepting the line of sharing unemployment and of sharing jobs. This position of the NDP is one indication that the NDP does not stand for real progress but for the preservation of the domination of these powerful economic interests. It does not stand for the basic rights of the workers but instead puts forward the deception that something will be done, that some action is being taken. Workers must reject this. We must fight for our immediate aims, for our rights against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto our back, for a job, for job security and for real socialism.

MR. P. FORDER (UAW, Local 275): This morning I had the television on like many delegates and listened to Canada AM and we had Sandy Renaldo, the well informed journalist, who said when

Dennis McDermott talked about the New Democratic Party and tried to mobilize support for that party, there was only "scattered pockets of applause". I would like to remind CTV and the whole great people who are ensuring that New Democrats have a say, that Ed Broadbent got four standing ovations here today and prolonged applause repeatedly throughout, and I guess we will not see that on Canada AM tomorrow morning.

I want to say that I am a member of the Ontario New Democratic Party Executive as is Jeff Rose of CUPE, as is Jim Gill of the UAW and the previous speaker totally misrepresented and took out of context what the New Democratic Party in Ontario is all about. If we are talking about a worker who says in 1984 that "I do not want the Liberals because they are insensitive and uncaring and I do not care for the Tories because they are irresponsible and they want to give more to the corporations," then she says in the next breath that I do not want to support the NDP, then I say clearly that I know where she comes from. Their kind of government suppressed trade unionism around the world. The totalitarian regime that she would support has denied trade unionism and prevented us from functioning and has slain union leaders and accused them all of being CIA agents.

On a more positive note I say that we have a golden opportunity at this Convention and I was very proud of all of the delegates who stood up for Brother Broadbent today. He put it together for us today.

We are talking about Liberals and in 1984 what worker, what let alone a union leader, can support a government and a party, and a philosophy that jails our trade union leaders — jails Grace Hartman, jails Jean-Claude Parrot, jails Lucie Nicholson, intimidates the trade union movement, slanders us, controls our wages, denies us adequate interest rates. What kind of government can we, as workers, clearly vote for when they deny an opportunity for women to become equal partners, when they deny an opportunity for pensioners to have adequate nutrition and shelter and leave them to the barons to go out there so they can pay $1,300 and $1,400 a month in their twilight years in some private nursing home.

We all can take the challenge as Brother McDermott has put it to us, we can get involved, we can inspire our people to work. Doug Tobin, who is on Congress staff and lives in my riding, and I went out the other night, we signed up a couple of members including a Letter Carrier, who said: "I have been paying lip service for a long time, here is $240 from me and my wife, count me in from this day forward." We went to another brother, a UAW member and he said, "Here is a $100, I am joining the party, I have not done my share. I want an opportunity to participate." He joined and said "when my wife comes back, I am going to talk to her and try to get $100 from her as well."

We have an opportunity with the leadership of Bob White, President Pilkey of the Federation, Brother McDermott, Brother Parrot, we can pull together the right, the left, the working people, put them all together, put our case before them and let us not be sucked in to the Brian Mulroney types, those people who say they will cut back on unemployment insurance. They will further frustrate our goals and initiatives to strive for a superior society. When we talk about taxation, you look at Shell Oil, they got a $47 million tax credit at the workers' expense, it is atrocious.

MR. G. HEWISON (UFAWU, Local 5): I rise in support of the document. I think it directly points out that Canadians and Canadian working people are faced with a very grave danger. I think it is pointed out in the document that there is a grave danger of a sharp shift to the right, not unlike the attack that is going on in my province. When I came down here I was intending to appeal that we set up a solidarity with British Columbia committee, because that government has basically developed legislation that is taking out a bounty on trade unionism in that province.

I do not say that in order to cast fear, in terms of getting involved in the political process, rather to say that there is still time, providing we have the correct strategy not to repeat the mistakes that we, the trade union movement, made in British Columbia. I believe we made a mistake, I think we have to look at a little bit of history in British Columbia. When we first elected a New Democratic Party government in 1972, we overwhelmingly swept Bennett off the scene. It was at a time of mass upsurge of workers. Since that time, we have pursued a policy of lay back, do not give the Social Credit an election issue. That is what happened to us and we paid dearly. Forty-five per cent of the population did not go nuts when we went into the ballot boxes. It is very polarized. I would suggest if 45 per cent means temporarily nuts, then we are in a serious danger in Canada of mass insanity and we need to address that question in our strategy.

When we look at Margaret Thatcher, she has sunk to the lowest point in the history of her regime in Great Britain as a result of the heroic struggle of the British miners. And I suspect that, as a result of the German workers taking on that rotten right wing government in West Germany, they are going to bring the Christian Democrats to their knees.

What we need to see is that in Brian Mulroney we are dealing with the same thing that what we are dealing with with Premier Bennet in British Columbia. We need to go out and mobilize, we need to get our friends in the New Democratic Party to stiffen up their programs so they are not perceived by the grass roots as some kind of imitation or left wing version of the Liberal party.

What is wrong with calling for nationalization in the banks? What is wrong with taking on the question of jobs by expatriating or repatriating our economy from the big foreign corporations that right now are strangling the workers. Workers understand that language and they will respond to the party and there is no need for a defeat at this election. I suggest if we come out fighting, match up our work in the ballot box with our work in the streets and in our trade union in the shops, I think we can win this election, I think we can build a broad new coalition like was done in British Columbia.

I would just like to close on this point, I believe that, as a result of the solidarity movement in B.C., that if an election was called tomorrow, Bill Bennett would be out very fast. We can do the same things federally and we can do it in every province in this country. The key to winning political power at the ballot box, is mobilization, mobilization and more mobilization.

MS. S. MacDONALD (UE, Local 544): Of course I support the statement, there is no reason why anyone should not support that statement and, after hearing Brother Broadbent speak this morning, it is a shame that all Canadians cannot hear him when he gives that speech. I would say that that was his finest speech and I support the NDP and it is a pity that many unionists do not vote for the NDP and it is inconceivable to me why they do not vote for them. I cannot understand that.

Why do we, as members of the CLC, have a complicity with the Liberal government in the productivity centre, which promotes concentration on productivity and competitiveness, which only are in the interest of the employers? The objectives of the labour movement will only be achieved by mobilizing and educating the membership. The labour movement already has limited resources so why are we wasting time in fruitless consultation with the leaders of big business?

The CLC leadership must direct that energy and assist the members who help pay their wages in their struggles. And I hope they will carry that through in the policy that is adopted by us to whom they owe their first allegiance. We cannot wait for an election. We have to have an action program now that will carry us through until an elected government will act with care for the human needs of ordinary Canadians. The B.C. workers showed us that waiting for an election would have meant total absolute annihilation of the trade union movement in B.C. We have done absolutely nothing since November 1981 when we had a mass demonstration in Ottawa that showed the power that we can exert. We had support from many diverse groups and we should be capitalizing on that now so that we can gain support so that we will have a government that is going to care about ordinary working people. We need action, we want action.

The younger members here at this Convention do not know if we will ever have a job in the future and we have to have action now. We have to show our anger, we have to show that we want thousands and thousands of our brothers and sisters altogether marching on Ottawa, marching on the provincial capitals. We have to get the coalitions together now, so that, when the election comes, we can have converted those people to see that we have to have a government that cares about the people, that are living in absolute poverty, that have lost their jobs and will never never work again. The children are inheriting an economic wasteland. If we do not start now, if we wait for an election, we may as well just roll over and play dead. The CLC has to mobilize, to take the policy we adopt here and go out and organize so that we again will have what we had in November 1981, thousands and thousands of brothers and sisters marching across the bridge from Hull. It brought tears to everybody's eyes when we saw them coming to join us. Why could we not do that now so that when an election is called, we will know that we will get some kind of voice that will put this country back on its feet, that we will have people working.

MR. B. HARGROVE (UAW): I would like to start by complimenting the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress, the National Political Education Committee for the work they have done with the leadership and the membership throughout Canada: Pat Kerwin and a number of other people who have travelled across this country putting in place the on-the-job canvass and tried to develop the kind of secondary leadership that the people will need when going into the election campaign this fall and if we are to seriously talk about electing more New Democrats to Parliament.

I think we have to take a look at what is happening to us as working people and take a look at what the old line parties are offering as solutions and understand that, before we can seriously go to our membership and ask them to support the party of labour in this country, the New Democratic Party. If we look at what has happened over the last three or four years, the shift of wealth in this country, the shift of power to legislation, through the support of the people in power, for the corporations as they continually transfer the power from working people, using the resources that have been given historically in this country to help unemployed people, to help the poor, to help the single mothers. Look at the resources that we have had in education and other areas to help ordinary Canadians and see what has happened to those expenditures. Then we will begin to understand what the political solutions of the old-line parties offer right across this country and then when we go to the shop floor, we will be able to say to our membership at that point, why it is so important that we support the New Democratic Party.

Surely, after the last three or four years, the most conservative among us must understand the necessity to have a workers' party, both at the provincial level and the federal level, even if you do not agree totally with the program of the party. There is a convention every two years where delegates participate in open debate and vote on the policies of our workers' party and hear them say what they will do when we put them to power at the federal and the provincial level across this country.

In our union, when we took on the concessions' fight, we did not take it on blindly or take it on because it was a popular thing to do, we took it on because we examined it and came to the decision that concessions do not create jobs. Who stood with us on that issue? It was not the federal or provincial Tories or the federal Liberals or provincial Liberals or the Socreds or others who claim to represent people in this country. It was the New Democrats. It was Bob Rae (Ont. NDP leader) who said to the leadership of our union: "Yes, our party stands with you, we understand it is not concessions that will turn this thing around, it is putting money, putting people to work, putting jobs, putting money into the hands of ordinary Canadians. This is the way to do something about the problems we face in this country." This is the kind of political leadership we should be talking about to our members about supporting and I suggest the workers are ready to listen to us.

Some people feel the position of the labour movement in Canada on political action is an excuse for doing nothing else. But this is not what is happening, this is not what the record shows in the labour movement in Canada. This is not what happened in British Columbia when the workers took to the streets to protect the anti-worker legislation to cut back on social services. They took it in complete conjunction by walking hand in hand with the New Democratic Party who was taking the issue to the Legislature on behalf of the people of British Columbia. This is the kind of political action program that this paper talks about, this is the kind of political action we talk about as a labour movement so we urge the delegates to go back, take on the issue on the shop floor, get involved with the CLC on-the-job canvass and you will be surprised at the response of working people when you go to them as the leaders of your union and say to them, we need your support. You should support the New Democratic Party because of its policy of full employment, because it is the only party in this country that has continuously talked on the issue of world peace, talked about nuclear disarmament. Those are the issues that workers understand, that is why they will join with us and support and elect more New Democrats in 1984.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. Let us test the house. What is your point?

MR. L. RUFO (PMUA, Local 36): My point of order is in regard to the question called. On the third page of the Convention Program in Rules and Order of Business, I do not see where it says that some yahoo in the Convention is going to yell "question" and he has all the privileges and rights to deny other speakers.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right, you have made your point. Under the rules of order, any parliamentary procedure you want to cite, the provision is in there for ceasing debate by calling the question and that is what we are doing, nobody is trying to suppress anybody. They are in the hands of the majority of the delegates. If the majority of the delegates want you or other people to continue, they will say so by raising their hands or not.

We will hear from microphone 6 and then we will discuss the matter of the question.

MR. D. MacKENZIE (USA, Local 7608): Thank you Mr. Chairman. I too want to commend the Congress Political Education Department for the work it has done over the past several years. I think it is a shame though that in Canada we find ourselves in the situation where we have to re-fight a lot of the battles that we thought we had won years ago for basic social services, medical care services, protection for the elderly. I, like many, had thought that those battles were behind us. I think what that means, simply put, is that we have to rededicate ourselves to political activity more so than we ever have in the past.

The experience of the B.C. solidarity movement, the various Congress programs such as the interest rates campaign, the Economic Recovery Alternative campaign, have all demonstrated that labour has the capacity to engage in a broad range of fronts whether it is coalition-building or special interests, single issue initiatives. But I think we have to recognize that, ultimately, labour's rights to organize, the social services previously mentioned, all of these things can only be protected and expanded if we exercise power in the legislature of this land.

It has never been more important for us to rededicate ourselves to that party the labour movement founded. Let us go from here and build and nurture what we have created and let us adopt this resolution overwhelmingly.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of ceasing debate at this point, please signify. Down. Opposed. The question has been called. On the main motion, which is the policy paper presented to you, all those in favour of the motion, please stand. Thank you. Those opposed, please stand. The motion is carried and so ordered. Thank you. Is that it? Microphone 2.

MR. L. RUFO (PMUA, Local 36): My point of order Mr. Chairman, is that we cannot go by practice but by policy and determination. There are rules in which the Congress tells us how the Convention will be functioning, therefore, I would like to state that an individual or a delegate in the Convention has the right to scream and yell, interfere with the business of the Convention and you have to recognize that individual beyond other duly recognized delegates in microphones.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You yourself are demonstrating that very ably.

MR. L. RUFO (PMUA, Local 36): And this is not your rule, it is in our rules of order of the Convention.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The rules are for everyone too, but there is another rule which is unwritten, that at all times we abide by the dictates of common sense. So will you please sit down and let the majority take over. I call on the Chairman of the Legislative Committee.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): We are dealing with Document No. 4 and Resolutions 1 to 36 in the large Resolutions Book. Resolution GE-1, GE-12 and GE-13 were referred to the Legislative Committee from the Government Employees Committee. The resolutions are not in numerical order but are being presented under subject matter for ease of presentation and debate and the first resolution that we would like to present is under the Bankruptcy Act. The Committee recommends concurrence in the following substitute resolution, to cover Resolutions L-3, L-18 and L-30, which reads as follows:

> "WHEREAS the federal Bankruptcy Act has not been amended since 1949; and
>
> "WHEREAS workers who are caught in a situation where their employer has gone into bankruptcy or receivership rarely or never receive the wages owing them; and
>
> "WHEREAS two Senate Committees studying the Bankruptcy Act have recommended that this situation must be remedied by legislating a Wage Protection Fund through an employer-only levy; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Landry Committee, composed of labour, business and academic representation, recommended a Wage Protection Fund that would:
>
> 1. Be paid for by a levy on employers;
> 2. Pay all wages and benefits owing to workers including severance pay and unfunded pension liabilities;
> 3. Meet these payments within 3-5 weeks of an employer going bankrupt or into receivership;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress continue to pressure the federal government to pass amendments to the Bankruptcy Act to protect workers' wages and benefits in line with the Landry Committee report which was commissioned by the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs."

On behalf of the Committee, I move adoption; seconded by F. Benn (Committee Secretary).

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): The motion has been moved and seconded.

MS. C. MICKLEWRIGHT (BRAC, Local 1820): This is a very critical motion for the delegates here today and it is of particular concern to workers in the airline industry who are facing a potential repetition of what happened in the United States under deregulation. I have been assured by Svend Robinson, MP, the New Democratic Party's Consumer and Corporate Affairs critic, that the NDP will do all possible to try and ensure that protection is brought into that legislation. Incidentally, a bill was introduced in the House of Commons in January and the way that bill stands now, there is a possibility that companies will be able to achieve the equivalent of Chapter 11 legislation in the United States which would allow employers to declare bankruptcy and, the following day, re-establish their organizations and completely eliminate entire collective agreements under that reorganization and continue to employ only those people that they choose to employ. We do not want to be in that situation and I am not entirely sure that this resolution goes far enough. However, I think that the points that are made are very important, very critical and I urge all the delegates to support this resolution.

MR. R. NICKERSON (UAW, Local 195): I rise to support the resolution and point out to the delegates that for the last 15 to 20 years, and in fact since 1949, we have had legislation on the books, federal legislation covering bankruptcy that has not been amended or changed, but that has been put into place by the Liberal and Conservative governments to protect the banks and the interests of the banks.

I bring to the attention of the delegates that finally, yesterday in the House, Judy Erola brought in that legislation and put it in committee and talks about a change to the Bankruptcy Act, which we in the UAW and other unions have been pushing for a number of years. That change in the legislation does not go into the Landry Report; talks about putting in place a fund of $4,000 in the case of bankruptcies so that workers who have their wages, vacations, pensions, owing but do not have that protection, will have up to $4,000 protection.

The problem with that legislation is that it will not protect those individual members and employees who are working for a firm that goes bankrupt and no money is available. As an example, I talked to you about the CCM workers in Toronto, 450 members of our union, where the company went bankrupt in 1982 and where there was $34 million owing from that corporation and only $15 million went to the banks. We now find out, just two weeks ago, when we finally wound up the pension plan of those employees, members of our union, that the pension funds are short $2.5 million, that the corporation did not put into their pension moneys. Now I heard a lot of delegates here yesterday talking about action.

I hear a lot of delegates talking about action now and I say to you, there is a bill now in the House, it is in committee and we want in place the Landry Commission Report that says they will set up a wage fund, that will protect workers when there is a bankruptcy, not the banks in this country. And the ones that are opposing this legislation in the House are the banks. The banks are saying, even the $4,000 that are being set aside for the workers should not be set aside. The first individuals that should be receiving the money are the banks.

I request this Convention, first of all, to endorse the resolution, to make sure that the point is brought home. I would also ask the affiliates of the local unions, please take some time today or tomorrow, send a telegram to Judy Erola, make sure those telegrams go in there endorsing our position before it is too late and the workers again are not protected.

MR. J.K. BELL (Nova Scotia Federation of Labour): The question of bankruptcy and the effect that it has on the working people of this country has become very serious during these last three or four years of depression. As you know, the rate of bankruptcy in Canada has been as much as 40,000 bankruptcies per year. The bankruptcy law, because of its inadequacies of protecting the wages and the pension plans of workers, has caused great problems to the working people particularly in those areas of underdevelopment. I speak as a delegate from Nova Scotia, an underdeveloped section of our country and we have here a situation where restructuring has become the common vehicle that the federal government and the provincial governments have moved in to bail out the banks in every case of any major failure of business. What happens is that the banks get taken care of; public funds are used. Federal government monies are used in the restructuring, underpinning of the financial difficulties of corporations and companies. But what happens to the worker and his claim and his wages and his rights, vested rights that he has in the industry? We say that actually the Bankruptcy Act should certainly be revised so that, instead of us now being somewhere around seventh or eighth in the claim for wages in the creditors' rating, we should be up first. The workers' wages, the workers' pension plans should be the number one consideration in a bankruptcy consideration and I support the resolution in that regard.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): Anyone else at the microphones? All right. I will ask the delegates to vote on the motion before the house which is adoption of a substitute resolution in the Bankruptcy Act. All those in favour of the motion, please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried. The Committee.

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): Next we have an emergency resolution, that was submitted by the Public Service Alliance of Canada:

> "WHEREAS Agriculture Canada is implementing drastic changes in their Federal Meat Inspection policy; and
>
> "WHEREAS the control of the inspection program is being taken away from the federal meat inspectors and meat-packing and processing plants will be allowed to inspect and process their own meat products; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Canadian consumer could be in danger of purchasing tainted, unwholesome meat products, which have not been properly federally inspected; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress, which is over two million members strong, represents a potential market of eight million consumers; therefore
>
> "BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress in co-operation with the PSAC and their resources, both staff and monetary, launch a consumer awareness program to alert the Canadian public to the drastic changes to the formerly reliable federal meat inspection policy."

On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, I move adoption, seconded by F. Benn.

MR. F. COATES (PSAC, Department of Agriculture Component, Local 20060): I wish to let the delegates know that there was a great deal of thought put forward to this emergency resolution. We have fought a campaign for over a year and a half against Agriculture Canada on this type of new meat inspection program. Historically, the federal meat inspector was in charge of the legend, stamps, labels, everything pertaining to the wholesomeness and quality of the meat products leaving a plant. Under the new system, the control of the stamps is turned over to the plant personnel, the management, to do so whatever way they wish, dealing with the meat products.

We are very much aware that 90 per cent of our meat-packing plants are of high integrity and will in no way put out unwholesome products knowingly. Our major concern is the certain number of plants which have lobbied strongly with Agriculture Canada, our federal government, to make sure that the meat inspector is taken out of the plant. We also have another problem and we do not think it is fair. We have members in there who are meat-cutters, sausage-makers, bacon-makers, whatever. This responsibility has been turned over to them by management. They are not trained to have that responsibility and should not have that added burden on their shoulders to make sure that there is healthy product coming out of that plant.

We have campaigned across Canada for the past year on radio, television, etc. We have campaigned with the Consumers' Association with some success. However, in Ontario we have had a problem with the Consumers' Association; of the two individuals that sit on that committee, one woman is on the board of directors of one of the major meat-packing companies.

There has been a dramatic increase in the amount of meat returned from countries that we export to. This is not doing anything for our country. It is damaging the credibility. We urge the support of all the trade unionists, not just as trade unionists but as consumers. We have two million CLC members; that should multiply into eight million consumers. Therefore, this is why we have brought it to this body. It is not your typical union complaint. This is a consumer complaint and it affects all of us.

Treasury Board recently allotted their person-years for the years 1984-85 within the Public Service. There are 2,600 more approximately allotted; 1,100 of these go to the Revenue Taxation people, for tax collectors to make sure that you and I pay our taxes; 600 go to the Solicitor-General Department for more jail guards. I would presume this is for the people who cannot pay their taxes; 500 people are going to the Ministry of Transport for other reasons, but not one more individual has gone to Agriculture. The gentleman yesterday from the farmers spoke to us about how they are ignoring Agriculture Canada. This is our opinion too. We have one of the three largest industries in Canada being dealt with precariously, one that occupies 42 per cent of the gross national product — this country's agriculture — this is why I urge you to support us on this resolution.

MR. G. JOLLYMORE (CBRT&GW, Local 606): Mr. Chairman, in order to be able to debate properly, it would be nice to have these papers in front of us. Unfortunately, we do not have them. This is the second time now that there is a resolution brought up on the floor and we do not have the papers and I would certainly like to have the emergency resolution.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): Your point is well taken, we will look after it. Delegate at mike No. 4.

MR. M. CHEVALIER (PSAC, AC, Local 1012): I want to tell you what is contained in beef sausages, pork sausages, blood pudding, mock chicken, salami, pepperoni; you are all going to eat in a while. Are you sure what you eat is good? I am a meat inspector and I know that with, this policy, you will not be assured that what you eat is good.

Right now, I think we have the best inspection in the world but, with this policy, I will not be sure in a year from now, in week from now, that we will have the best inspection in the world. Right now, with this resolution, we are asking for help to protect you. With this resolution, we want you to think if you will be sick in a week from now, because of what you ate the day before. Most of the time, it is either what you drink or either what you eat. Think about it. This is the purpose of this resolution. We want you to help us to defeat this thing that will change the regulation of meat inspection. Our job is to protect you as long as you let us protect you.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): Seeing no other delegates at the microphones, I will take a vote on the motion which is to adopt the emergency resolution on meat inspection. All in favour of supporting the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Any opposed. The motion is carried. The Committee.

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): Now we go to the Resolution L-13:

> "WHEREAS immigrant workers are particularly disadvantaged because of their occupational status; and
>
> "WHEREAS the current economic crisis affects immigrant workers in a particularly severe way;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that:
>
> 1. The Canadian Labour Congress press the federal government to establish training and retraining programs that meet the special learning needs of immigrant workers; and
> 2. That the Canadian Labour Congress give special priority in such training programs to English language development to enable all trade unionists to have more opportunities to participate in all aspects of Canadian life."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by F. Benn.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): Seeing no delegates at the microphones, all those in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried. The Committee.

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): I now move to Resolution L-7, which has been amended:

> "WHEREAS unemployment is the number one problem of Canada's working people; and
>
> "WHEREAS in past Canadian Labour Congress Conventions delegates instructed the Congress to impress on all affiliated unions the feasibility of advocating the thirty-two hour week without loss of pay as a solution to this very serious problem; and
>
> "WHEREAS, with the present economic policies followed by our various levels of government, a campaign to support reduced working time is required more than ever;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Executive Council strive for a reduction of the work week to be implemented by legislation in order to create work for the unemployed; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress organize public support for workers actually engaged in industrial action to achieve a reduction of working hours."

On behalf of the Committee, I move adoption, seconded by F. Benn.

MR. P. LARSON (ITU, Local 145): I would like to speak to the question of the feasibility of a 32-hour week. I come from a small union. We have been facing in the last several years the attack of technological change in our industry which has virtually wiped out our trade in the newspapers in particular. And we have dealt with that in many ways, particularly by demanding reduced work hours. That has been a difficult struggle, I am sure every person here remembers the huge struggles at *La Presse*; people went to jail for it.

Those struggles have been continuing throughout our industry. We have not won them all but we have won a number. The result today is that where I work, at *Le Droit* in Ottawa, we work a 34-hour week, four-day week. At *Le Soleil*, they work a 32-hour week, four-day week. At *La Presse*, they work a 28-hour week. Those are pretty good working conditions. At *Le Droit* where they are bringing up more technological change, we are asking for 28 hours. We want your support. We do not want to have people say they are being excessive, they are demanding too much. Our only possibility of saving our jobs is to accept the development, the introduction of technological change and to fight for lower work hours and that is what we intend to do and we expect to receive your support and we are sure we will.

MS. K. SANDERSON (NUPGE-BCGEU): A point of information. This particular resolution says nothing about pay. It talks about reducing work hours but it does not talk about the same kind of pay for reduced work. Did the Committee think about that?

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): I am sorry to mention, Resolution No. 6 should be included in that. It takes care of that. No, we had not considered that.

MS. K. SANDERSON (NUPGE-BCGEU): Thank you.

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT&GW, Local 67): I would like to speak against the demand for the shorter work week because I feel that it conceals what the cause of unemployment in this country is. I will tell you right now that here in Canada we have the shortest work week that we have ever had in the history of industrial capitalism and we have the highest rates of unemployment and that those people who want to push for this demand, this gimmick that is going to cure everything, cure unemployment, should address themselves to that. We hear all the time the employers do propaganda that it is capital that is the creator of all wealth and jobs while the workers are merely reduced to consumers and parasites on the society and that they blame the workers for all the social ills.

So the applicants for the shorter work week are basically taking up exactly the same propaganda. They want to sell out the soul of the movement, the movement fighting for jobs and the elimination of unemployment. They want to blame the workers for their problems and for their own unemployment and tell them that they will have to live with this chronic unemployment, that they should accommodate to this system, which itself is the source of unemployment and capitulate to all the attacks on our jobs and lives. It is the capitalists who are turning full-time workers into part-time workers and now here in the labour movement, we are hearing that we too should take this up, that our solution to unemployment should be to turn the full-time workers into part-time workers.

This scheme is no good. For one thing it is not going to work and secondly it goes against the most fundamental interest of the workers. It is a scheme to reconcile the workers to the ravages of the capitalist system. The workers whose ranks have been devastated by the crisis, who have been devastated by all the attacks of the capitalists, want to fight for jobs. They want to fight for job security and the shorter work week goes against this struggle and reduces workers to beggars, or even less than beggars, who do not even want to fight for crumbs but merely want to take the crumbs which the capitalists give and move them around the table more to spread them out further. Workers will never allow themselves to be reduced to this. The action program which we must adopt is a militant struggle for jobs for all or for full compensation for those without jobs. We have barely begun to fight on this question. Now, all of a sudden, there is a lot of haste to adopt a faulty policy promoted by the likes of Axworthy and his cronies that say we should share the work or we should share the jobs and this is exactly the same demand as the demand for the shorter work week. It is all one scheme, to share the unemployment and reconcile workers to the permanent underutilization of the productive forces, under capitalism, the most important productive force which is the workers themselves. We have to reject this solution, this will never solve the problems. It is an attempt not to cure the problems which face the workers but cure the problems of capitalism and we have no interest in doing that. The workers have to take up the struggle for jobs, the struggle for full compensation for the unemployed and this is the only way which we can go.

MR. B. WEISLEDER (NUPGE — OPSEU, Local 595): This is a crucial resolution. I am sorry to see that it does not include the provision that the reduced work week will be carried out without any reduction in pay and benefits; but nonetheless this represents an important orientation for the entire labour movement. It represents an action campaign that should be undertaken by the labour movement as a whole. This resolution, strengthened by the provisions I just mentioned, should have been at the very centre of the economic statement and had it been there, with an action orientation, it would not have been necessary for this Convention to refer that statement back to Committee. It should be quite clear to us here that the new technology is here to stay, working people are the people in the society that produce the wealth and the services that make the society function and have every right to share in the benefits of that increased productivity and that wealth and the only way that we can do this in the midst of depression is to redistribute the available work to provide more social services and to take advantage of the new technology in our interest.

We need more than ever an action program so that this is not simply a resolution on paper, a resolution of pious hopes and ambitions but in fact an orientation that can be translated into effective action, to mobilize not only the ranks of the trade union movement but the ranks of the unemployed who are looking to leadership, looking for leadership to this organization and to the political arm in this organization, the New Democratic Party.

Someone argued that we have to wait until there is an economic recovery before we can advocate such a policy, such an orientation and a campaign. Clearly the workers in West Germany reject this logic. Clearly working people across Western Europe are increasingly placing this question on the negotiation table, reject this logic. In fact, if we were to pursue it and if we were to be guided by that kind of international market priority logic, we would still be working the ten-hour day because when working people struggled, 90 years ago, the employers made the same argument: "We cannot afford a shorter work week", but they could afford it and they can afford it now and we cannot afford not to fight for the shorter work week without loss in pay and without loss in benefits.

If this Labour Congress were in fact to play a greater role in the New Democratic Party in the conventions and organizations of the New Democratic Party, on a day-to-day basis, and to fight for an action campaign such as this, an extra-parliamentary campaign to supplement the needed legislative action, then, in fact, it would appear as a credible alternative to the unemployed, to the dispossessed, to the abandoned of this society, to people that the society is not interested in serving their needs. In fact, this is the kind of orientation that can give credibility and can give momentum to a labour movement that has been stagnant, to a labour movement that has been pressed back by the economic offensive of the employers and their governments.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): Now I've heard some delegates calling "question". I will ask them to be patient. We will proceed and have one more delegate speak from a con mike and one from a pro mike and then if you wish to have the question, we can do so before adjournment.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): I am a hospital worker and as a hospital worker, I work in an institution where an increasing number of our members already have the shorter work week. They have the shorter work week because they are working part-time for partial salary, in most cases, not through choice but because the employers will only hire part-time workers.

At my own hospital, the administration has quite cyncially told us, "Oh, by hiring new employees, only on a part-time basis, we are sharing the work." Of course, the real reason is that part-time workers are being used to carry out the cutbacks and the staff reduction. When a full-time worker leaves, she is replaced by a part-time worker.

We also have the experience in my local of bargaining for a shorter work week. A few years ago, we bargained a reduction in our work-day. As a result of this, not a single new worker was hired. What happened instead was that the same number of workers did the same amount of work in a shorter time for shorter pay.

This demand for a shorter work week is not only being instituted in the hospitals, but by many other employers in my province. For instance, the packinghouse workers have on the table a demand from the employer that they accept a reduction in their guaranteed hours to 32 hours a week. And here at this Convention this demand of the employer is being presented as a panacea and a solution to the problem of unemployment. It is not a solution to the problem of unemployment. It is the solution which says that we should accept this situation, that we should capitulate to the question of mass unemployment and that we should accept this reality and that we should not fight for jobs, for job security, for a job or full compensation and against a system which is responsible for mass unemployment.

This demand is being presented as a demand which says 32 hours work for 40 hours pay. At best this is pie in the sky. And what it really means is that the workers should share the unemployment, should share the jobs in exactly the same program of job-sharing, which you heard various trade unions say we will never accept two years ago, is now being presented as the solution. This is not a fighting program and we should reject it and in its place, we must take up the struggle for jobs, for job security and for socialism.

MR. G. SNYDER (UE, Local 546): I stand in support of the reduced work hours for one very simple reason. First of all it will create jobs and the unemployed in this country need work. This is one fine way of doing it. Our brothers and sisters in Europe have started the big push. I hope that the labour movement here in Canada will get right behind it as one of the buttons on my shirt indicates, 35 and 85 and it is time that we did this and it is very important and is well needed.

Technological change is making less and less work in our factories. We all know that, we have seen it in offices. The companies, who are introducing this, are introducing it for one reason and this is because it gives them greater profits and we are the ones that produce the profit for them. So why should we not share in that extra gravy and by sharing it, work less hours? I feel very disappointed that this resolution does not talk about maintaining 40 hours pay, as L-6 mentioned. It indicates something a little bit different.

So I would hope that the Committee can include that into this resolution now because I feel it is very important and that way we will not have to share the poverty. We will share the fortunes that we deserve in which are our rights; but we must reduce the hours of work in this country. It is high time. The companies are using the arguments they used years ago, when I was not even around, when the workers were asking for a 40-hour week and it has not proved out to be true. The workers are right in asking for reduced hours.

MR. C. PILKEY (Legislative Committee Chairman): For the delegates' edification, if you look at the second whereas of that resolution, it says that "Whereas in the past Canadian Labour Congress convention, delegates instructed the Congress to impress on all affiliated unions the feasibility of advocating the 32-hour work week without loss of pay as a solution to a very serious problem." In other words, that is the policy and the program of the Canadian Labour Congress already.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): What is the point on microphone 3?

MS. S. McCOMBIE (HREIU, Local 280): I think it would be a lot easier for everybody if you just included that in the "therefore be it resolved." I think that is what the problem is.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): All right, I will now put the question. Are you now ready for the question? Please show by raising your hand. Down. Those that oppose to the question now being put, please show. The motion is carried. The matter before the house now is the adoption of the Committee's recommendation in the substitute for Resolutions L-6, L-7 and L-31. All in favour, please show. Those opposed to the Committee's recommendation, please show. The motion is carried.

The convention adjourned for lunch at 12:30 p.m.

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 1984
Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:10 p.m. by President D. McDermott.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The first item on the agenda is the report of the Women's Committee. This is an extremely important debate. I once again urge the delegates to please take their seats. The convention will please come to order. I call upon General Vice-President Bob White who will outline the procedure to you and make some suggestions.

MR. R. WHITE (Canadian Director, UAW): At the Executive Council meeting at noon today, we had a long discussion about how we will get more business conducted at this Convention and deal with the many policy papers and other resolutions that are before us. We have a couple of suggestions that we would like to make this afternoon. First of all, since most of the documents are in the delegates' kits we suggest that rather than having the Committee take an hour or 45 minutes to read a document in full, that we try and summarize the document, so this would leave more time for debate and discussion.

On the resolutions, rather than read three or four paragraphs of 'whereases,' the Committees in making those reports should move to the 'resolves' of the resolutions and once again that allows time for more debate.

MR. G. LEMIRE (BRAC, Local 2303): A point of order. This is my first CLC Convention and I would like to know why the debate is cut short whenever someone speaks against a resolution. I believe that every individual has the right to explain why he stands against a motion. I realize that some empty stomachs want to leave the hall to go and eat. To me, delegates should not be allowed to leave before a motion has been fully debated. The hall was half-empty when you took the vote; it was not representative of the opinion of the majority of delegates. Those who voted in favour did so because they were in a hurry to leave.

Personally, I have nothing against a 32 or 20-hour week, but if it is to end up with a part-time job, I am not gaining anything. I am willing to share work with you, insofar as we get a salary. But if I divide my pay in two, this is not a salary.

The point of order I wish to raise is the following: When someone does not concur, are you entitled to deprive him of his right to speak? Would it not be more according to the rule to apportion the debate?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I think if you will take a careful count you will find there are an equal number of people for or against and if there is a balance up until now, it is in favour of the people who have been speaking against as opposed to the people speaking for. Democracy is alive and well. I am not going to debate it with you. The microphones start over here, No. 1, which is on opposition. If you want to speak in opposition, you go to that. You want to speak for, it is on 2. You want to speak on opposition, No. 3 and so on and this is the way the order paper works. Now as to the closing of debate again, the chair is in the hands of the delegates and if a sufficient number of delegates want to cease debate, they so indicate by calling the question and the chair is in the hands of the majority of the delegates.

Now we can go on, all right. On the first suggestion that we summarize both in the committee report and in the more lengthy documents and if we go to the resolved on the resolutions instead of reading all of the whereases, all those in favour of that proposition, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. R. WHITE (Canadian Director, UAW): The second suggestion from the Executive this afternoon is related to the report of the Women's Committee. The first item in the Women's Committee report is Document No. 25 which is a policy paper on Women and Affirmative Action. Assuming that the paper passes this Convention, the last part of that paper really mandates some changes in the executive structure of the Canadian Labour Congress. We are suggesting, therefore, if the paper is passed at this Convention, that immediately we set aside the Women's Committee report temporarily and bring the Constitution Committee on to report to the delegates on the constitutional changes that will be required by affirmative action decision and then move back to the Women's Committee report rather than bring the Constitution Committee on just before adjournment this afternoon.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On that motion, all those in favour of that proposition, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MS. N. HUNT (Women's Committee Chairperson): I would refer the delegates to Document No. 25. The resolutions covered by the document begins on page 93 of your Resolutions Book. The document covers Resolutions W-2-5, 9-11, 14, 17, 21, 22, 24, 27-31. The presentation of the document will be preceded by a videotape.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FILM

"In spite of the progress of the past few decades, Canadian women are still denied equal opportunity and fair treatment in the workplace. Women workers earn on the average only about 60 per cent as much as their male co-workers. The attainment of equal pay for equal work has failed to rectify this inequity because women are concentrated in low paid job ghettos where employers can discriminate against them as a group.

"Women also make up a disproportionate number of part-time workers often because they cannot find full-time work. And, because they are concentrated in clerical and white collar occupations, they have borne the brunt of the displacement caused by the micro-electronics revolution. Women continue to be victimized by sexual harassment on the job, a problem which is compounded by the fact that they are more likely than men to be in a subordinate position.

"Many women who want and need to work cannot do so because child care facilities are either not available or too expensive. And, since women are burdened with a disproportionate share of child care responsibilities, they are sometimes denied the opportunity of participating fully in union activities and they are also limited in their career choices.

"Another problem is unequal access to non-traditional occupations especially skilled blue collar work. Some breakthroughs have been made but employers and even co-workers are often reluctant to make changes to ensure equal access to apprenticeship and training programs. This is perpetuated by forms of hidden discrimination, such as height limitations or unrealistic lifting requirements.

"The labour movement has taken action to remedy these problems but progress has been slow. The 1982 CLC Convention included an equality forum. Action has been taken to pressure governments into acting on the CLC's policies on publicly funded day care, sexual harassment and apprenticeship programs.

"Many CLC affiliates have also been successful on the collective bargaining front. Sexual harassment clauses and paid maternity leave are good examples. Internal education programs are helping to provide a woman's perspective on trade union issues and are preparing women for leadership roles.

"Some progress has been made in establishing the concept of equal pay for work of equal value but further gains will require a concerted effort.

"The CLC's Equality Now Conference held in Quebec City last year made a number of recommendations for a co-ordinated affirmative action.

"Carol Aitken of the CLC Women's Bureau explains: 'The priorities of the trade union movement, until this point in time, have been for negotiating the most important issues, such as equal pay for work of equal value, child care, sexual harassment and so on. Now, what we are looking at is a complete program of affirmative action as an interim measure to realizing the equal opportunity that is our long term goal.'

"Working women have made progress but there is much left to be done. The need for a co-ordinated national program is clear. Now, the Women's Committee will present its policy paper on women and affirmative action."

MS. N. HUNT (Women's Committee Chairperson): I would like to mention that it has been brought to our attention that the terminology used in the French translation does not necessarily come out in words that are used by the francophone community. It is the recommendation of this Committee — I hope with the endorsation of the delegates — that the appropriate wording will be put in the final document that will be published.

POLICY PAPER ON WOMEN AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

"High unemployment, high interest rates, job insecurity and the ensuing social upheaval hurt every worker but those who have been historically disadvantaged are particularly hard hit.

"Still clustered in traditional, low paying jobs — service, sales and clerical — women are finding it even harder to break into non-traditional areas, or have their existing status re-evaluated upwards.

"As competition for limited jobs increases, women find their rights to be hired or advance being challenged by employers and the status of women as a reserve labour force being openly excused by the myth that 'men are the breadwinners'. In fact the number of families living below the poverty level would increase by 50 per cent if two-earner families became one-earner families.

"Women earn on average about 60 per cent of male workers' wages; two-thirds of all minimum wage earners and three-quarters of part-time workers are women. So women, already at the low end of the income scale, are especially vulnerable to rising costs of such basic items as food, clothing and shelter.

"Wage controls and limitations on collective bargaining especially hurt women workers. Not only do the legislated percentage increases result in widening the male/female wage gap, also the advances being made at the bargaining table such as equal pay for work of equal value are severely restricted.

"When micro-chip technology advances into offices, it is the jobs of the two-thirds of all working women who are employed in clerical, sales and service occupations that are de-skilled, dehumanized or lost. Computers may very well eliminate 40 per cent of secretarial and clerical positions by 1990.

"Unchallenged, the continuing economic crisis will further entrench the unequal status of women in society. Women refuse to be the scapegoats of this crisis.

"On the picket line striking 18 months for union recognition from a bank in East Angus, Québec; facing police harassment for first contracts in Ontario; fighting exploitive private nursing home owners in Nova Scotia; demanding dignity and human rights in B.C. — the list of battles is never-ending.

"Women have played a large role in the labour movement's long, proud, history of struggle against discrimination. They have no intention of stopping now.

"Breakthroughs at the bargaining table such as paid educational leave, child care, paid parental leave and protection against technological change have been important steps towards a more defined program of equal opportunity.

"Women's struggles have been a testament to determination and patience but women are tired of waiting for real change. Women, through their unions, and outside of them, are demanding recognition in a society that continues to undervalue their worth.

"*Affirmative action* is an important mechanism for the labour movement to make significant changes in our long battle against discrimination in the workplace. The Canadian Labour Congress and its affiliates take up that challenge in this call for action.

Labour Defines Affirmative Action

"Affirmative action can be generally defined as: any action designed to overcome barriers to equality and compensate for past and present discrimination, and improve the economic status of the disadvantaged group.

"The targets of affirmative action are those who have experienced past and present discrimination. In Canada, this includes women, visible minorities, the disabled and native people. This policy document deals with women, the group that represents a majority of the population. We urge the continued commitment to equality programs for visible minorities, the disabled and native people as dealt with in CLC human rights policy. The specific double discrimination experienced by women in these other disadvantaged groups is one that must be recognized in the actions we recommend.

"Management's approach to affirmative action has been limited to promoting a few women into management ranks. However, the labour movement has defined affirmative action directed at the needs of the majority of working women confined to low-paid ghettos. Labour defines affirmative action as a comprehensive program designed to overcome past and present discrimination; to include:

- non-discriminatory hiring and promotion practices
- equal pay for work of equal value
- training opportunities
- paid education leave
- child care
- parental leave
- policies against sexual harassment
- accumulation of seniority during leaves.

"Our definition of affirmative action stems from the fact that we do not view the workplace in isolation. The labour movement recognizes that the availability of social programs affects workers' productivity and job aspirations. For example, the implementation of 24-hour, universally accessible child care would mean that workers with child care responsibilities, usually women, could have more options in their work life. As well, accumulation of seniority during maternity leave would ensure that women are not penalized for their biological role as child-bearers.

"Affirmative action is not just one action but rather a series of comprehensive initiatives. If the goal of affirmative action is to fundamentally alter the social and economic status of disadvantaged groups, that goal will not be met by any one measure. For example, if universal child care is introduced it will improve parents' access to the labour force, yet it will have little impact on the wage gap. Progress toward the goal of full equality involves a wide-ranging program of affirmative action. Each breakthrough should be viewed not as an end in itself but as a step toward the goal.

"Systemic discrimination has created barriers to the full and equal participation of women in all aspects of society. These barriers are often subtle and based on tradition; they are deeply imbedded in the system. Examples of this are height and weight requirements that exclude most women and are not related to the job duties. Affirmative action will help to identify these roadblocks to full participation and equal opportunity.

"Equal opportunity is the goal we seek. Affirmative action is the means by which programs are devised to ensure this goal is realized.

Targets and Timetables

"Targets and timetables are necessary to measure the progress being made in affirmative action programs.

"When implementing an affirmative action program, one way of measuring success or failure is to assess, by means of a follow-up process (preferably by an on-going evaluation committee), how close to agreed-upon targets and goals current achievements are.

"To be truly meaningful, these goals or timetables must be attainable and realistic. They should have a direct relation to the projected needs and capabilities of the specific worksite and geographical area under discussion. Expected vacancy rates, anticipated growth or decline of the workforce, and availability of training opportunities for women must all come under review when goals or timetables are being developed.

"Attaining targets set for women in different job classifications is one way of determining the success or failure of an affirmative action program. Other criteria must be whether women are receiving equal pay for work of equal value, and whether jobs given low value because they have been dominated by women workers have been re-evaluated.

"It is important to remember that goals, targets and timetables are merely interim measures which will be removed once equal pay, hiring, training and promotion have been achieved for women in a given situation.

Seniority

"As the main form of equity that a worker can build into a job, seniority remains one of the labour movement's key principles. It helps alleviate discrimination that could occur, if decisions about transfer, promotion or layoff were left to the discretion of management.

"It is appropriate then that in the context of our document we should deal with the possible concern that conflict could occur between seniority and affirmative action programs.

"We stand by the right of the membership to make adjustments towards the necessary *strengthening and broadening* of seniority provisions that allow the full impact of a complete affirmative action program. Women are often caught in the position of not having the chance to use their accumulated seniority. For example, women in traditional jobs, such as clerical, should have the right to apply their seniority to re-training opportunities and training in non-traditional areas.

"In April 1982, less than one per cent of all organized workers in Canada had contract clauses in which promotions were governed solely by seniority; 40 per cent were covered by collective agreements which included no provision whatsoever for seniority rights to apply to promotions; and, for 36 per cent of organized workers, promotion was based on seniority as one of several criteria.

"Examples of positive changes that should be made include: fuller access to employment opportunities and training, rightful entitlement to seniority lost during maternity leave, backdating of seniority to date of application, when discriminatory hiring practices are proven.

"On the basis of their experience to date with affirmative action, unions have found three things: i) seniority is not a factor in hiring; ii) that effective programs can work without endangering our seniority protection; and iii) that improvements can be made to our existing clauses that will mean more protection for all members.

"The area of layoffs rightfully needs to be addressed here. The last hired — first fired impact on women breaking into non-traditional areas is one that causes frustration and one that local unions must resolve as they see just.

"Labour's affirmative action program is based largely on hiring, promotion and re-evaluation. Women must be part of any economic recovery and we are setting the necessary mechanisms into place now.

Labour's Program

"The following section outlines the steps that the Canadian Labour Congress believes are essential to achieving economic and social equality for working women.

Legislation

"It has been apparent for some time that the voluntary approach to affirmative action has failed. Not many employers have stepped forward to become 'volunteers' and those who have initiated programs have not shown noticeable results. This lack of success was predictable due to the absence of concrete guidelines on the mandatory components of an affirmative action program, including the full and equal participation of unions representing workers who are affected by the process. In the public sector, legislation prohibits unions from negotiating components of affirmative action programs, e.g. job classifications. Furthermore, employers can easily refrain from initiating meaningful affirmative action programs as long as there is absolutely no risk of being faced with legal liability for practicing systemic discrimination.

"Affirmative action legislation at the federal and provincial levels must make it mandatory for employers to negotiate programs with the union or with employee representatives where there is no union. Unions must participate in the drafting of such legislation and be full and equal partners in the process from the outset. Unless the foregoing conditions are met, affirmative action legislation will not be acceptable to unions, as it will not result in beneficial improvements to workers. Organized labour recognizes that the twin vehicles of legislative reform and collective bargaining have done much to achieve some degree of progress against discrimination in the workplace. We can endorse the concept of legislated affirmative action as long as the legitimate role of unions and collective bargaining is respected and certain conditions related to the process and content are met.

"Therefore, we would support affirmative action legislation under the following conditions:

a) It must be within the context of a basic human rights thrust.

b) Legislation should state, as an overall goal, the elimination and compensation for past and present discrimination; and include the basic standards to be met for a plan to be considered as affirmative action.

c) Unions must be full and equal partners in the process from the outset and share in the decision-making aspects; unions would have the right to initiate complaints of discrimination as a class action on behalf of their members; union agreement would be required prior to the approval and implementation of a program.

d) Legislation must require both mandatory affirmative action and equal pay for work of equal value. Contract compliance legislation should be enacted to ensure that firms doing business with governments would have to have approved affirmative action programs.

e) Unions and employers must be given the right to negotiate into collective agreements complete programs and/or component parts of a plan including employment systems and procedures.

f) Programs must be administered, developed and controlled by joint union-management committees (or employee representatives where there is no union) with equal representation; representatives will be determined by the union.

g) Appropriate government departments or agencies such as Human Rights Commissions must assume responsibility for affirmative action to ensure legislative provisions are followed; approve acceptable plans; assess programs periodically in order to monitor results, impose financial or other penalties for non-compliance with the legislation and arrange for impartial boards to hear and rule on complaints, or adjudicate disputes arising from the operations of the program.

"The Canadian Labour Congress is determined that the drafting and enacting of affirmative action legislation must involve the formal participation of the labour movement. This positive and co-operative approach will result in meaningful and successful affirmative action programs. Accordingly we recommend:

1. That this document be used as the basis for a union lobby of provincial and federal governments to legislatively implement affirmative action.
2. That the CLC and affiliates join coalitions with like-minded community groups for the purpose of promoting affirmative action.
3. That free, universal, publicly-funded quality child care must be available as an essential social right to every family wishing to use the service.
4. That all workers be free to join a union and have that freedom reinforced in legislation.
5. That unions have the right to full and free collective bargaining without legislative restrictions.
6. That governments undertake a policy of social and economic development that will ensure a full employment economy.

Training

"In our schools, girls and young women are still being channelled into traditionally female subject areas. Women trying to enter, or re-enter the workforce after their child-bearing function, find they are severely disadvantaged (single mothers with children under three experienced an unemployment rate of 32.5 per cent in 1980, Statistics Canada). And for those working, the micro-electronics revolution's full impact has yet to be felt.

"Affirmative action in training and education must go hand in hand with affirmative action in our elementary and secondary schools, in our colleges and universities, in our apprenticeship and retraining programs (the current rate of female participation in all apprenticeships is less than three per cent) so that women will have positive support and encouragement to challenge traditional biases.

"With this in mind, the following recommendations are made:

1. The federal government must vastly extend the range of training opportunities and options for women particularly in the areas of expanding industries and services. A target of minimum of 50 per cent female participation must be established for the full range of courses in these areas. A levy-grant system of funding for training must be established to ensure that all training costs be shared by all employers in proportion to their utilization of skilled workers.

2. Skills and apprenticeship training courses must be adapted to the needs of women by being flexible, by providing evening programs, by providing improved training allowances which would be applied equally to men and women, and by providing child care subsidies. English or French as second language courses must be widely available to immigrant women. Counsellors provided by government for their various programs must be trained to understand the changing role of women and to encourage women into technical and skilled trades. More female counsellors must be hired.

3. The Ministries of Education and Colleges and Universities must develop new career counselling materials with up-to-date labour market information and analysis of the long-term employment consequences of course choices. Courses should be planned to reflect changing labour market needs. Screening of young women away from math and sciences and technical training should be eliminated.

4. A paid education leave policy must be developed by the federal government, the priorities and goals of which are reflected in the CLC's policy on this issue.

Bargaining Strategies

"As outlined in our definition of affirmative action, there are many components to labour's program. Each component is not an answer in itself but a part of our broad-based approach. While each step forward is important in breaking down the barriers and making up the difference between men and women, there is no single solution. It is a planned, step-by-step process that can be undertaken by each affiliate according to the special needs and circumstances of its membership. A complete program will set realizable goals and establish targets by which tangible changes can occur.

"The Canadian Labour Congress encourages affiliates to hasten economic equality by negotiating affirmative action programs and clauses of specific benefit to women. These might include:

- No discrimination clauses and the use of non-sexist language;
- Across-the-board wage settlements rather than percentage increases to assist those (usually women) at the low end of the pay scale;
- Equalization of base rates for women's and men's jobs;
- Elimination of increment steps in salary scales;
- Affirmative action enabling clauses;
- Job evaluation plans with full union participation to ensure jobs, skills and working conditions are weighed and valued fairly and appropriately;
- Paid educational leave clauses which state that women will get to take PEL at least in proportion to their numbers in the bargaining unit;
- Child care subsidies and/or workplace child care;
- Strengthening of seniority rights (e.g. paid parental leave with accumulation of seniority during leave);
- Employer-wide seniority;
- In the event of layoffs during apprenticeship programs, special measures could be taken to ensure an equal complement of women is maintained;
- Broadening the seniority base allowing access to a wider range of jobs to assist women to move out of female job ghettos — individual union locals might also wish to consider ways of dealing with the disproportionate effects of layoffs on women;
- Job protection and retraining for alternative employment in the event of technological change;
- Pro-rated benefits and pay for part-time workers;
- Protection from sexual harassment;
- Flexible hours and limitation of shift work;
- No overtime during layoffs;
- Stronger job posting provisions with training (bridging) built in;
- Shorter work week with no loss in pay;
- Health and safety improvements including reproductive protection for both male and female workers;
- Workplace design, clothing, equipment and facilities to assure access by women workers.

Union Education

"Education on affirmative action is needed to promote understanding of the issues and determine strategy for its implementation at the local level. The following measures are recommended:

1. Staff and leadership training on affirmative action.

2. Weekend and week-long schools to be held based on the already prepared CLC course.

3. Integration of women's issues into all education programs, at both the local level and central labour bodies.

4. Affirmative action to be the theme of the next CLC National Women's Conference, with provincial conferences leading up to it.

5. Newsletter from the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Labour Congress to provide an update on what is happening to women nationally.

6. Adoption of the on-the-job canvass technique to have women activists talk up the issues in their own local. A brochure to be developed by the Canadian Labour Congress.

7. The Canadian Labour Congress Women's Bureau develop a booklet entitled *Bargaining for Affirmative Action*.

8. Active recruitment of women into education programs and the necessary support measures to facilitate their participation.

Union Action

"Women are joining the union movement in growing numbers, now comprising over 30 per cent of our membership, but are still very much under-represented amongst the leadership and on unions' staff (in proportion to their numbers).

"There has not been a conscious effort made to exclude women from such positions, but union structure, methods of operation and language have all contributed to make it difficult for women to choose to run and be hired in this historically male-dominated movement.

"As we make demands on our employers, we must be prepared to look at our own organizations.

"The CLC recommends the following measures in order to facilitate greater participation of women in decision-making capacities. Affiliated unions are urged to adopt the measures as well:

1. That the CLC investigate the variety of methods possible to improve the percentage of women on the CLC Executive Council. The goal being to improve the representation of women at least in proportion to the number of women members. This matter to be referred to the CLC Commission on Constitution and Structure which, in consultation with the Executive and Women's Committee, will examine options and report with a plan of action to the 1986 Convention.

2. Analyze their structures and methods of operation to determine the status of women and develop programs which would identify barriers to be overcome in the election and employment of women. This should include active recruitment, special courses and conferences, women's committees, targets and timetables for at least proportional representation.

3. The Canadian Labour Congress should monitor the progress of the affiliates and report to the 1986 Convention.

4. That all affiliates be urged to hire staff whose primary responsibility will be women's issues.

5. Committees dealing with women's issues be established at all levels of unions where they do not now exist. Necessary changes in union constitutions and/or by-laws should be made to ensure this.

6. The CLC and its affiliates examine their role as employers in light of these recommendations.

"The Executive Council of the Canadian Labour Congress, in adopting this policy document for recommendation, decided that given the extensive studies already available, two further years should not be needed for consideration of recommendation number one. Delegates are urged to support the 1984 amendments to the Constitution to expand the CLC Executive Council to include spaces for women."

MS. S. ATTENBOUROUGH (Women's Committee member): On behalf of the Committee, I move the adoption of this policy paper on women and affirmative action, seconded by Edith Johnston, Committee Secretary.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Before we get to the speakers, can I ask the members of the Constitution and Structure Committee to please come to the platform and stand by.

MS. F. SOBODA (USWA, Local 4253): To be a trade unionist means to work for the economic, social and political advancement of its members, all of its members. I would like to further say that a trade union heart has no gender. A trade union mind has no gender.

The labour movement's first priority is economic recovery. For the trade union members who are women, we need more than a recovery from the position that we were in prior to this current recession. We need a recovery from that position as well. We have to examine the history of women and men in this country. There are some very important issues facing all working people. I do not have to remind you but i will: job security, concessions, technological change, union-busting and a very important psychological union-busting that is happening in this country today, safety and health and violence in the home. Those are all important issues affecting our members.

They affect all of us but they do affect women a bit differently than they affect men and perhaps a bit more seriously. Today in Canada, women still earn less than 60 per cent of what men do in this country; 75 per cent of women who work, work in the job ghettos of clerical, sales and service. These are the first areas to be hit by cutbacks, concessions and technological change. Unemployment insurance benefits are 60 per cent of your earnings, so follow it through. The average woman on layoff gets 60 per cent of 60 per cent and wonders why she cannot feed her family, particularly the single parent mothers.

Further to that, I know in my capacity both in my local area and in the province, when women end up on unemployment insurance they often exhaust their benefits. Where I live, in Pictou County, we have approximately a 35 per cent unemployment rate. It was higher than that last summer. It will be higher than that again in October of this year. When people go to the social assistance office for something, they are made to feel guilty and responsible because they have to go there in order to buy food for their children and send their children to school. In the metalworking industry and in the industrial sector, women have been hit by layoffs during this recession, six times as much as men. It has been very hard on our brothers. It's been even harder on our union sisters.

Many people, men and women who are on layoff right now, whether they have exhausted their unemployment insurance, whether they are on social assistance, regardless of the reason, are still holding on to that thread of hope that our government keeps trying to soft-sell to us. Many of those people who are on layoff will not go back to work because of technological change. They do not know it yet but their jobs are gone, because they have not been in the workplace for a year or two years, in some cases, three or four. They do not know the problems that have come up and the work that has been eliminated due to technological change. There is psychological union-busting that is taking place today, all over the place, by employers, by governments; and, in some cases, our members are not sure which direction they should be turning. We have a job to do there.

Women in particular are socialized to feel responsible for problems and they feel responsible for these problems too; and unscrupulous employers try to psychologically talk to women and say: Do your part, accept less. It usually means concessions and cutbacks and I am proud to report in my local of the United Steelworkers that we threw it out and we accepted no concessions or cutbacks. Yet the employer came in with changes to every article in our collective agreement; but we did not buy it.

Violence in the family is a very important issue that affects all of us. Economics plays a part in the perpetuation of violence in the family and some people who say, well why do women stay? If women are being battered, why do they stay? It comes back again to economics. If there were jobs available, if there were good jobs available, if the job market was open, if education and training was open to women, they would not have to stay in that kind of a position that puts them and their children in the worst possible position in this country.

We have to continue in the labour movement to form alliances in the community with all the groups, United Way, transition houses, whatever it is. We have always been leaders in the social area. We must continue to be the leaders and we must continue to be seen as the leaders, to be very visible about it. We must be up front and be identified with these things; but we have to put our own house in order too. If we want credibility, we have to earn the credibility of the public. I know it is not easy, but we have to try even harder, we have to make available to our members all of the items that are outlined in the policy paper. Plato said that justice will be achieved for all citizens only when those who are not the victims feel the same sense of outrage as do the victims.

We have worked together, we have walked the picket lines together, we fought unscrupulous employers and governments together, we fought for the dignity that each person in this country deserves.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): No great social change is possible without the participation of women and it can be said that the measure of the progress in advancement and level of development of a society can be measured by the position of the women in that society.

The position of women in Canada today is a powerful indictment of the capitalist system. The struggle of the women for their emancipation is part and parcel of the fight of the whole working class for its emancipation and for genuine progress and genuine democracy.

This position paper pays lip service to this idea that the struggle of women is part of the struggle of the working class as a whole. But the programs of affirmative action, as they are being carried out and will be carried out by the governments and by the employers in this country, have quite another purpose. I do not believe that those who are responsible and who profit from the super exploitation of women, from the low wages, from keeping women in the job ghettos, from refusing to pay women equal pay for equal work and so on, those same employers who are passing Bill 44, who are passing the vicious measures in B.C., Ontario and Quebec, have an interest in redressing these wrongs. They have quite something else in mind. They want to take away from the struggle of women its working class partisanship and tell women that when Jeanne Sauvé becomes Governor General, when a woman is elected to the Supreme Court, when some women politicians go into the legislatures and Parliament, when women go into management, that this is an advance for women. And they will use the affirmative action program, not only to promote this line but to split and divide the movement.

The paper says, for example, that we can extend our seniority and have affirmative action; but I say to you that affirmative action will be used to split the struggle of the workers and instead of fighting for jobs and against the layoffs, to have us fighting who will be laid off. They say that women have the right to go into the non-traditional occupations; but we must look, where are these non-traditional occupations and you will find that most of them are in the industries linked to the war preparations. And sometimes it is said quite openly; during the Second World War, women worked in the plants and why not now? And this is part of the war preparations and not part of the progress and advancement for women. In order to fight for the advancement and the emancipation of women, we cannot fight on the basis of a position which is designed to split and divide our class in the same way that the attempt is being made by the use of the word visible minorities to have the workers fight on the basis of black versus white.

In order to fight for our emancipation, we have to fight for our immediate aims and the women have to become an even more powerful contingent in the struggle against concessions and against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto our backs, against the war preparations of the two super powers, in defence of and to extend our democratic rights and to fight for real emancipation of the working class and the building of a society in which there is no exploitation of man.

MS. S. CARR (Executive Vice-President, CLC): As a woman and as a trade unionist in Canada, I would like to support this policy paper on women and affirmative action. It has been ten years since we have been really active at Convention, in the Canadian labour movement, for the fight of equality and equal opportunity for our female members. We have come a long way and if the sister on mike 3 thinks that the trade union movement will be divided and not united when we fight for this, she is wrong.

I went to the women's caucus last night and I listened to that same speech and I will tell you again, this movement and this Convention will not be divided because we are trade unionists fighting for the rights of trade union people in this country and workers of this nation.

And just so there is no misunderstanding by some press sitting here, particularly the *Toronto Star* who happens to have a writer by the name of Deverell, I want you to know, my friend Deverell, that I am a coal miner's daughter, I am the one woman with seven brothers and I have been a feminist all my life and I have been for affirmative action since the moment I was born and do not write anything different than that.

Now let me tell you a few things about the Canadian Labour Congress. This policy paper puts everything into perspective and this policy paper says that the Canadian Labour Congress has come of age, particularly in many areas of affirmative action and this Convention shows us that the brothers are with us solidly on affirmative action for the women in this movement.

My union has had affirmative action since the early seventies and we are proud of that; but this Canadian labour movement takes no second place to any labour movement in the entire world. We have been the first of many things, we have been the first in equality and equal opportunity. We have been the first to elect women to the Executive Council, the first one being Huguette Plamondon. We have been the first to elect a woman that is a chief executive officer in the western world and that's affirmative action if I ever heard of it. We have been the first in the labour movement, as a total congress, to go before governments and ask for equality and equal opportunity in all forms of legislation that affects every single person in this country. So do not stand at mike 3 and tell me that we have not done our job and that we are not going on further.

In this labour movement of ours, we have equality in many forms but we do have to extend a little further. And that does mean that in some of our unions and some of our affililiates where women have not had the opportunity, because of a variety of other reasons, to move up in the trade union ranks to become full-time officers or elected as presidents, shop stewards, or whatever, that means that we will try to work as this document says, to find the opportunities and make those arrangements and accommodations so that they can move up, because women have earned their stripes in Canada for the trade union movement.

We have walked the picket lines in every province. We have organized the unorganized in every province. Women in this Congress have gone to jail just like our brothers and for the same reasons. These are the reasons why all the things in this document are very forward, very easy to obtain if we keep our backs to the wall on this. That also means that there would be tremendous lobbying to every government for the laws to create the necessary legislation against sexual harassment; for the maternity leave, the paternity leave, for adoptive leave and child care.

We have come a long way and I urge total support for this and I urge for the total support of the constitutional amendments to put six women on the Executive Council at the vice-presidential level. Thank you very much.

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT & GW, Local 67): I would like to speak against this policy of affirmative action, not because I am opposed to the struggle of women for equality or the struggle of women for emancipation, but because this policy goes against those very aspirations. The demand for affirmative action is a demand that women grab more positions of power within the very structure which is the source of their oppression and this cannot be the way forward.

This serves not only to liquidate the struggle for the emancipation of women, but seriously harms the struggle of workers for an end to all discrimination, for an end to all exploitation and oppression. It creates an extremely dangerous illusion that the capitalists and their governments can protect the rights of women and at the same time attack the rights of the workers, the right to a job, the right to decent wages and working conditions, etc. And it seriously undermines the struggle of the workers, the unity of the workers fighting against these attacks because the essence of this document is that the enemy of the women is men. It is men who are the source of the oppression and, despite all the fancy words, when that is the essence it cannot bring out unity. Men are not in a privileged position in the working class, they are exploited and oppressed. Women do, in the work force, face an extra level of exploitation because it is extremely profitable for the employers to oppress women. But the source of the oppression of women is not men but the enemy of working men, the capitalists and their system and this enemy loves nothing better than to see working women and working men at each other's throats, to see them competing with each other for jobs, competing to see who gets laid off first instead of fighting together against their common enemy.

The task cannot be installing women into positions of power within this system. In Manitoba, the three women Cabinet ministers, who are the epitome of affirmative action, come and tell the women that there are cutbacks in day care, there are cutbacks in health care, there are cutbacks in education. The very same day in Winnipeg at the CUPE Convention, Grace Hartman called for more women judges; yet it was a female judge of the Federal Court that came down and upheld the six and five legislation which denies the rights of workers.

We women do not want any of these positions. The only positions we want, the only affirmative action we stand for are those positions which come out of resolute struggle. It is only by fighting shoulder to shoulder with working men and against this system which exploits and oppresses us all that we will win our liberation. Women must be in the forefront of the struggle for peace, for the rights of women, for an end to all exploitation and oppression. And it is here that we will win our equality. We must put aside any dangerous illusions that affirmative action means progress. This system which feeds off the oppression of women cannot solve the problem. The labour movement has long recognized that it is the system of private property which is the source of the oppression of women, so we should not be here discussing, fighting some other enemy, suggesting that we should fight against men.

The struggle for the emancipation of women and the struggle of the workers against exploitation or oppression are two component parts of the same battle, we cannot fight one without fighting the other. The women do not take up the struggle of the workers against exploitation and oppression, will do nothing except leave them with all kinds of illusions and much more oppression.

MS. P. VAILLANT-PIERRE (PSAC-QFL, Local 10390): I wholeheartedly support the policy statement on women and affirmative action. Women, through their unions, must demand that our society recognize them as full-fledged workers, that is, as workers entitled to the same rights, advantages, and means in the voicing of their demands. We must never, at any time, let management take control of affirmative action programs. They would only seek to sow discord and dissension among our membership. These programs should be the object of negotiation and we ask all brothers and sisters to lend us their support.

On behalf of the francophone affiliates, I wish to thank the sister for mentioning the French translation of that policy statement. The French text should be revised before mass distribution. In many instances, the expressions and words are not exactly those accepted in usage. Often, it is not quite the right word or expression and, at times, the wording is even a bit sexist. We are aware that this is not due to bad faith, that such expressions came into use out of our brothers' vast experience and long involvement with trade unions. Let me give you examples. In the French text, the masculine gender is often used to express the word "worker", seemingly forgetting that there is a word in French for feminine workers. Another much used expression is the literal translation of 'affirmative action' by 'action positive', yet, to express the same reality, in Quebec at least, the legislation speaks of 'programmes d'accès à l'égalité' (access to equality programs).

There is no question of changing the contents of this excellent policy statement; it is only a matter of terminology. I can assure you, Brother Chairman, that the QFL Women's Committee is at the disposal of the CLC to revise the French version. As women workers, we want a text which is a reflection of the ideas, convictions, and objectives for which we stand, so that the measures we are taking for the adoption, negotiation, and implementation of affirmative action programs meet with real success and that, in the long run, all this becomes a reality.

MS. R. BAKER (UAW, Local 1325): I want to address specifically two areas in this affirmative action policy paper and that is legislation and collective baragaining for child care.

We, in Ontario, have been lobbying and promoting universally accessible child care for some time. But all this verbalization has not as yet done anything for our members because governments have not budged one inch to make this kind of child care a reality. In fact, the Ontario government has cut back on funding for the existing child care system. In my home city, Stratford, Ontario, federal and provincial money was spent to build a new day care centre which only replaced the rented facility and within six months of its opening, it had to close due to the increased cost to parents for each child.

The labour movement must take a more positive and active stand on the whole question of child care. We must ensure that the right to a qualified, adequate and fully accessible child care system in Canada is a basic right for every Canadian. The care and early education of our most valuable possession cannot be left to the so-called day care or babysitting homes where many of the children are simply plunked in front of a television to watch cartoons instead of receiving qualified training. Parents should be able to seek employment free of the worry that their child will receive adequate and proper care and education.

As president of my local, I am proud to say that, just recently, we were successful in forcing the corporation to realize that they have a responsibility in providing decent child care for our members. We were the first industrial union in Canada to achieve this kind of benefit, where the employer contributes to a fund that will subsidize the cost of child care for my membership. We are, at present, in negotiations with the city for a possible takeover of the recently closed day care centre so that it may be back in operation providing child care services for our members and others in the community.

This achievement was not easy. It was the last item on the bargaining table but determination of our bargaining committee and the UAW staff proved positive so that the achievement was made in the wee hours of the morning.

I stand in support of this affirmative action paper and urge the delegates to put this important issue on their bargaining tables, to bring pressure to bear on the corporations, municipal, provincial and federal governments so that we can provide a child care system in Canada.

Like many other social issues, they only become a reality because the labour movement has put up the fight. Due to the on-going education by conferences and seminars within the Ontario Federation of Labour, and my union, the UAW, we were also successful in achieving a clause to protect our members from sexual harassment, adoption leave provisions, an increase in maternity benefits, equal pay for work of equal value in one of our job classifications.

Let us not only push for legislation but let us get those demands on the bargaining table as well. The issues we gained were all part of true equality, and I urge everyone here to support this paper unanimously.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Before I swing over here to mike 4, I am going to recognize Brother Richard Mercier, Executive Vice-President.

MR. R. MERCIER (Executive Vice-President, CLC): Of course, I was startled a moment ago when I heard the sister on mike 5 say "us women". Let me tell you how this policy statement was drawn up.

First, during the conference on the Status of Women that the CLC had in Quebec, women told us they wanted a policy statement. Secondly, the executive officers of the CLC, together with the Executive Council asked the CLC Women's Bureau to prepare a policy statement on equality of opportunity, which was done, not independently, but in co-ordination and through consultation with the CLC Women's Committee, which is composed of women.

Perhaps — and take this as a message — those affiliates that are not represented on the Women's Committee could see to it and delegate someone to that Committee, for a greater participation. Our door was never closed; on the contrary, it has always been wide open.

There is another point upon which I want to insist. I want all delegates to be aware that this policy statement has the entire and undivided support of the CLC Executive Officers, which means Shirley Carr, and of both the CLC Executive Committee and Council.

Wanting to revolutionize the world outside our own quarters is, of course, easy, but, as this Convention is taking place in Montreal, therefore in Quebec, I would like to bring to your attention two struggles that women in Quebec have carried out. One is the first strike at the Imperial Bank of Commerce by eight women from East Angus, a small isolated Quebec village. The strike lasted 18 months. Those eight women won with, of course, the support of all men and women affiliated to the CLC in Quebec. Another outstanding strike in the QFL and Quebec labour movement history was that of the 72 women at Zellers. They went on strike simply to have union recognition in their collective agreement. Because our anti-scab legislation was then rather weak, these women had to strike for 36 months. But they won and, as a result, the Quebec Labour Code was amended and the anti-scab law was improved. That struggle was won with the support of the labour movement and of all the men and women in the QFL.

The time is ripe, I believe, for the implementation of affirmative action programs and for greater representation of women within the union hierarchy. This should at least improve our awareness and help us men to broaden our outlook. Consequently, I urge you not only to unanimously endorse this policy statement but, when it is time to amend the Constitution, I urge the vast majority of you, if not unanimously, to make sure that this is put into our Constitution and that our sister co-workers obtain greater representation within the Executive Council of the CLC.

MS. L. NICHOLSON (CUPE, Local 907): I want to commend the Committee and the Executive Council for coming forward with this paper. It has been a long time in the works and it is long overdue.

As the President of the Ontario Division of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, I am very proud of our union. We came in with the status of women program way back in 1971. It is working but it is very slow, very slow. This policy paper points out the structures, the traditions and the operating methods of many of our unions where women's participation has not been encouraged. To have a woman active in her union takes a lot more courage than a man to be active because a woman has her traditional home to take care of. She is the traditional person that takes care of the children. She has to have somewhere for those children to be taken care of and taken care of very well; not just someone brought in for an hour but someone that knows how to take care of the children, if she wants to attend the Convention or if she wants to attend a union meeting. Last night at our caucus we had a tiny baby and I think it was the first time I have seen a baby so small in our caucus and it was kind of nice to see one of our male delegates take the baby and shush the baby while the mother had a little rest and sat there. And I think this is something that we take for granted, we who are active, but the people that we work for do not take that for granted.

Women's concerns and interests have not been taken into account. And this paper is a determined effort by the CLC and its affiliated unions to redress the oversights that have happened over the years. It is an ambitious program. It is many faceted, but it does address the problems of discrimination and addresses the problems of child care and sexual harassment. Most of those problems pertain to women. It is not enough to say that you endorse things in principle. Principle is a fine word and we have been using it for many years; but principle is not action and the time now is for affirmative action and that is what this paper is about. It is affirmative action, it is remedial action.

We talk about parity, we go to the negotiating table and we talk parity in jobs; and that is exactly what the paper here is about. It is parity here at the CLC and I tell you that affirmative action does begin at home. It does not begin when the union leaders go to governments and ask for affirmative action. It begins right here because if you do not have it here, you cannot go and ask for it when you go to your employer and you cannot ask for it from a government, because the first thing they say to you is what about your unions, do you have parity at your unions?

In 1971, in CUPE, we passed the status of women program and it is working. At that time, we were 33 per cent of our union. We are now over 50 per cent of our union. Our National Executive Board has now 25 per cent on it and this is through election, because even though we come to you with affirmative action, we still have to be elected by you.

Women's issues are all issues. They belong to all of us. We have to put greater stress on negotiating, on parity, on affirmative action and we will have an opportunity at this Convention. We will have the opportunity here at this Convention to practise exactly what we have been preaching to our employers.

I urge you to pass this unanimously and pass the constitutional amendment unanimously and get on with placing some women on the board so that we can start to have some parity in our unions.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Obviously, the question is being called for. All those in favour of closing debate please signify. Down. Opposed. Obviously, the question is called. On the main motion, recommendation of concurrence. All those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee, please signify. Down. Opposed. It is pretty obious; (nearly unanimous vote).

We will now deal with the Committee on Constitution and Structure. Still on affirmative action. Delegates will please come to order.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS COMMITTEE

MR. F. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): Following along with the theme of affirmative action, if you will turn to the book on *Resolutions on Constitution and Structure*, together with Document 1, the Report of the Constitution and Laws Committee. We draw your attention to Resolution C-3 which reads as follows:

> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress has long advocated the equality between men and women in the workplace; and
>
> "WHEREAS the role of women trade unionists would be enhanced by having more women play a leading role in the CLC Executive Council; and
>
> "WHEREAS this has not yet been achieved and therefore requires affirmative action in this area;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Article VI, Section 1 be amended by changing 'twenty-two (22) Vice-Presidents' to 'twenty-six (26) Vice-Presidents'; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Article VI, Section 2 be amended to read: 'Twenty-six (26) Vice-Presidents shall be elected as follows: twelve (12) of the Vice-Presidents shall come from the Provincial or Territorial Federations of Labour, with each Federation nominating one Vice-President who shall be the President or if he/she is unable to act, one of its elected officers, and fourteen (14) Vice-Presidents, of whom at least six (6) shall be women, shall be elected at large'."

And the Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution C-3, and on behalf of the Committee, I would so move, seconded by Louis Laberge.

MS. N. RICHE (NUPGE-NAPE, Local 7401): I stand here, as a trade unionist and as a feminist and I live for the day that when I say trade unionist, the word feminist will be synonymous.

I rise in support of this historic constitutional amendment. An affirmative action program is a program designed to prevent or eliminate disadvantages experienced by any group of individuals. But it is not enough to support affirmative action in name. We must implement. To not do so would put us in the same category as the Tory governments across this country. For the last several years in federations of labour, labour councils, the Canadian Labour Congress has been presenting briefs, lobbying, giving education seminars and writing pamphlets.

With the exception of Manitoba and Quebec, the response from government has been negative. Lack of funding, too complicated to implement, are two of the more frequent responses and often the question, "What has the labour movement done?" Passing this resolution will show them what we have done. We can show the employers, we can show the government that the labour movement in this country has the security and has the guts to stand up and be counted on the issue of affirmative action. And for those of us who will continue our lobby for legislative changes, we can do so with the knowledge that the entire labour movement is behind us and the impact will be tremendous.

To illustrate my point, at a meeting in Toronto recently a top Shell Canada executive approached a CLC representative to ask about this proposed amendment. The Shell executive said, "Hey, why are you doing this? Now we will have to do something too." And there are those who fear that the seats will be filled by tokens and those of you who feel that way should pause for a moment and think about the trade union women you know. Look back to a picket line where they have stood shoulder to shoulder with you. Women have the credentials, we have paid our dues and passage of this amendment will give some of these same women the right to bring their experience from the picket lines, from the negotiating tables and from the workplace to the decision-making level of the CLC where they, along with their brothers, will represent and fight for all workers in this country.

And to the delegate who talked about the judge, the woman judge who made a wrong decision, heavens, if we judged all men on the fact that Ronald Reagan is a man, God help us!

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Mike No. 3.

MR. L. RUFO (PMUA, Local 36): While I am in favour to see women in the labour movement as workers, I am definitely against the ones who start being sexist. To have a number of people in a Constitution determine that persons in a position will be women, I think is sexist.

Let us be very careful. What we really have to determine is to fill those positions with competent people, progressive and ready to give us leadership and there are plenty of women out there to do that. So there is no question that, to allow this amendment to the Constitution, it will show that we are sexist and I do not want to be part of that. What we have to do is to change our ways of doing things and make sure that they are competent people and whether the position be that of President or of Vice-President, of whether it be Vice-President-at-large.

MS. S. FREI (USWA, Local 8243): We are recommending as an Executive Council that we expand the Executive Council to allow for participation of more women in leadership in our House of Labour. This is not a sexist action, rather it is changing and ending systematic discrimination that we too have within the labour movement. This is a feminist policy, not sexist in any way. There are women in the shops, in offices, there are women shop stewards, there are women on executives in Labour Councils, in Federations of Labour, in staff representative positions. We need them also to be able to move further within the leadership of the Canadian Labour Congress. This is a progressive and positive thing we are doing, we must do it to allow women to be part of tomorrow's leadership today.

By doing this, we will all gain. We will gain in numbers, we will gain in strength, we will gain by increasing the participation of all people in the House of Labour.

MS. M. PINSONNEAULT (CWC, Local 77): It is indeed a great pleasure to lend my support to these amendments to the CLC Constitution, whereby a minimum of six seats will be reserved for women.

As already mentioned, women actually constitute nearly 50 per cent of the workers and over 30 per cent of the membership of unions. It is an established fact that the presence of women at the executive level of local unions has increased over the years. But the further we go up the ladder of the trade union movement, we notice that women are less often present.

We just adopted the policy statement on affirmative action. Consequently, it is now time for the trade union movement to put into practice what it has been preaching. Women need measures that will assure them of equal opportunity for participating in and rising to the higher levels of the CLC Executive Council. So long as a point of equilibrium between the number of men and women is not reached, positions related to affirmative action remain essential in order to ensure women just or equal representation at the executive level of the CLC.

I wish to acknowledge the President of my union, Fred Pomeroy, who worked very hard at the executive level of the CLC. I also wish to acknowledge the future work and past work of the President of the Québec Federation of Labour, the one and only Louis Laberge, in the cause of women. There are many individuals I wish to thank: the Committee, Richard Mercier, Executive Vice-President of the CLC; Jean Lavallée who sits on the Executive Council; Shirley Carr, Bob White, to name a few. I am sorry, I do not have everyone's name.

As you are aware, a two-thirds majority is needed for the adoption of this amendment. So, I urge you to vote massively in favour of this amendment which will finally give women access to positions traditionally reserved for men; women too have all the necessary qualifications and a great potential; unfortunately, that potential has been held back.

MR. R. WHITE (Canadian Director, UAW): I am happy today to lend my support to this constitutional change, which I can tell the delegates, received unanimous endorsation of the UAW caucus yesterday at noon hour. I think this is a fine day for the Canadian labour movement. Those who sometimes point the finger at labour, and say we do not move with the times, that we are not progressive and that time has passed us by; I ask you to look at any other major organization in this country, employer organization or political party outside of the NDP and challenge them to make a decision such as this Convention is going to make today. That shows how progressive this labour movement is, it seems to me.

Sometimes it is easy to criticize the leadership of the Congress and we have our internal discussions about each other at times as well. What happened here was that we received the report from the Women's Committee who did not think that the leadership of the Congress could take this issue on at this Convention. We sat down and we thrashed this out about six or eight weeks ago and said, no, we should not postpone this until the 1986 Convention. It really is overdue and we should do it now.

It is easy for us to talk about employers and other groups who take affirmative action but it gets a little more difficult when you want to talk about how we do it in-house. People said well we cannot come up with candidates, with credible female candidates who can run for the positions, if this constitutional change takes place. And my guess is we will have more than enough candidates running for the positions of women vice-presidents on this Executive and the only reason for holding them back was that we had not made this decision at earlier conventions.

Now some people will go to the microphones maybe and say this is tokenism, it does not go far enough. It is an easy argument to make today and say it does not go far enough. I think it is an important first step that we see here today. Others will argue that it goes too far. It means we have to makes changes, we have to push people ahead. We are doing it in spite of the democratic process and somebody said the democratic process does not always produce winners, it not only produced Ronald Reagan, it produced Margaret Thatcher so we should make sure we just do not depend on the democratic process.

What we are saying at this Convention is: let us change the Constitution, let us make the first step to recognize some equality of women in the Canadian labour movement. Yes, there are people that have been long-standing members of the Executive Council but the world has changed, the delegates of this convention changed dramatically since my first convention. The makeup of my union is changing dramatically. We are not out front, we are not one of the leaders but we are learning and we are taking important steps. That is really what this says at this Convention today. Hopefully at another Convention we can do away with the argument about a minimum of six and we can talk about full equality of the Executive Council of the Canadian Labour Congress, regardless of where you come from and regardless of what point of view.

I was part of the committee at the New Democratic Party convention in Regina which said we had to find 50 per cent women in the makeup of that Executive, and you know what we were able to do, we found them. People said to me, "My God, Bob, what are you doing? You know what will happen, on the long run there will be more and more women on the Executive than there are men." And my response to that is, "If that goes on long enough, another 50 years, they will bring an affirmative action resolution here to allow us to get some equality." We should be satisfied with that really.

I think this is an important decision, it is one around which this convention can completely unite. We should say to all others from the outside world that are looking at us, we have no division on this issue. We will take this first step. Women will find their place on the Executive Council of this Canadian Labour Congress. We are not worried about two-thirds, this vote will be unanimous.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. On the main motion, the motion of concurrence in the resolution, all those in favour of that proposition, please stand. Well done. Those opposed, please stand. I think we win one. (Standing vote, nearly unanimous)

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Chairman): Thank you Brother President. It is indeed an auspicious occasion that a major recommendation has been brought forward to this Convention by the Commission on Constitution and Structure and didn't have trouble getting a two-thirds vote. I will ask Brother Laberge, Secretary of the Committee, to read Resolution C-4. Now you have made your decision on expanding the size of the Executive Council to accommodate women vice-presidents, we now have to change the Constitution to permit for the balloting on them.

MR. L. LABERGE (Secretary, Constitution and Laws Committee): Resolution C-4:

> "WHEREAS the decision to implement affirmative action requires changes in the balloting;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Article VI be amended by adding a new Section 8 which will read:
>
> " 'When voting for the fourteen (14) Vice-Presidents to be elected at large, for a ballot to be valid, each delegate voting shall be required to vote for at least six (6) women candidates'; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Article VI be amended to add a new Section 9:
>
> " 'Notwithstanding Article VI, Section 6, when elections conducted under Article VI, Section 8, require run-off ballots, the requirement to vote for a minimum number of women candidates would be adjusted to reflect any shortfall between the number of women already elected and the number six (6). If less than six women receive a majority of ballots and eight or more men receive a majority of ballots, the top eight men and all women with a majority of ballots will be elected and there will be a run-off ballot among women candidates only for the positions yet to be filled by women. When at least six women but less than 14 people in total receive a majority of ballots, there will be a run-off ballot with no requirements to vote for a minimum number of women'; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Article VI, Section 8 to 16 be renumbered to reflect the insertion of the new Sections 8 and 9."

I move concurrence, seconded by J. Fryer.

Now I hope that you, delegates, have been following that because this will be mighty important for the elections coming up on Thursday. We will have to elect a minimum of six women out of the 14 vice-presidents at large. On the first turn, if five women are elected and even if nine men have a majority vote, we will have to take the first eight and deprive the ninth of the election and have a second ballot to elect a sixth woman.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is concurrence. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered. I think it's very appropriate at this time that Arlene Mantle come forward and sing Bread and Roses.

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Do not go away. You are still up. They have won the first part and now we really put them to work. Madam Chairman, we will go on with the balance of the Women's Committee Report.

MS. N. HUNT (Women's Committee Chairperson): We refer the delegates to the report of the Women's Committee which is Document No. 9 and I will ask the Secretary to read the resolution.

MS. E. JOHNSTON (Women's Committee Secretary): This is a composite resolution covering W-12 and W-25.

> "WHEREAS pornography is different from erotica in that it graphically represents sexual behaviour that is degrading, abusive or violent to one or more of the participants; and
>
> "WHEREAS the pornography industry is a billion-dollar industry which exploits women, children and men for profit; and
>
> "WHEREAS research has established that links exist between pornography and violence against women and children even so far as violent crimes being modelled on pornographic material; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission has relaxed the regulations on Pay-TV stations, regarding sexist and racist programming;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress go on record as being opposed to pornography as defined above; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC and all affiliates;
>
> 1. Actively support other groups whose purpose is the fight to end oppression of women and children through pornography;
> 2. Lobby to have the Broadcast Act amended (to include women in the list of groups protected in broadcasting)."

MS. N. HUNT (Women's Committee Chairperson): The Committee recommends concurrence, and I so move; seconded by E. Johnston.

MS. D. MORTON (PSAC — AU, Local 30023): My union, the Public Service Alliance of Canada, strongly supports this resolution and condemns the presence of pornography in our society. Some months ago, the Public Service Alliance of Canada established as policy the condemnation of pornography.

The Canadian Labour Congress and all its affiliates should not support this resolution simply because it is a women's issue. We should support it because it is a union issue. We should support it because it is a workers' issue. We should support it because it is a people's issue. Pornography is degrading to all of us, men, women and children. Pornography is degrading to all who believe in equality. Pornography is a violation of one of the most basic rights that all of us believe — human dignity. Pornography is unacceptable because it degrades the participants and is offensive to the vast majority of our members and of our society as a whole. We must overwhelmingly adopt this resolution, not only because of what it says about us, as trade unionists, but because of what it says about us as members of the society in which we live.

MS. B. CROSSMAN (CUPE, Local 1281): When we talk about pornography, we are talking about violence against women. Every 17 minutes in Canada, a woman is raped, one in every ten women is battered by their lovers or by their husbands. Women live in fear their entire lives. We live in fear of walking home alone late at night, because we do not know if someone's going to be hiding in the parking lot around the corner. We live in fear of being beaten by our husbands and by our lovers. We live in economic fear of losing our jobs, not being promoted. We live in fear of sexual harassment at work and, unfortunately, at many union activities. We live many days and nights of our lives in fear of ourselves. We are afraid we are too tall, too short, too thin, too fat, that we do not look like a Playboy centrefold, that we are too aggressive, too loud, too pushy and we live in fear because all our lives, we are told that we are something we are not and we are intimidated, degraded and devalued.

It is done every day in advertising, in magazines, on television, in the movies, in everything that we read and everything that we hear. So when we talk about pornography, we are not talking about sex or censorship or freedom of expression, we are talking about violence against women. It is an issue that is very difficult for people to discuss. No one has ever wanted to discuss pornography, because we do not want to cramp anybody's style or violate anybody's freedom of expression. But when we do not talk about pornography and we do not talk about our freedom and our freedom as women, then we are not really talking about equality for women.

The resolution is saying that the Canadian Labour Congress is not afraid to talk about pornography, that all of us here are not afraid to say that we are opposed to violence against women, that we do not want women to be raped, we do not want them to be beaten and we do not want them to live in fear every day of their lives.

We are saying is: let us concretely oppose pornography and take a first step in doing that to work closely with women's groups and other groups that are working to get rid of pornography and to give women an opportunity for real equality in our society. We can never be equal and we can never be free until we do not have to live in fear and be degraded and devalued every day.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I hear the question being called. I will test the house, all those who would want to close debate, please signify. Opposed. Debate will close.

On the main motion, all those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MS. N. HUNT (Women's Committee Chairperson): The next resolution is Resolution W-26 for which the Committee is submitting a substitute resolution:

"WHEREAS the recent jailings of two women, who refused to testify out of fear, indicates that there are flaws in our court procedures; and

"WHEREAS the fear of retaliation is very real to victims of violent crimes such as rape; and

"WHEREAS court procedural problems, delays, and bureaucratic red tape all add to the anxiety suffered by victims; and

"WHEREAS community support groups, such as rape crisis centres and interval houses, are underfunded in their efforts;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the federal government fund an evaluation of Bill C-127 to determine its effectiveness in protecting the victim, attaining of convictions and encouragement in reporting crimes of sexual assault; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the very crucial role and expertise provided by women's community support groups be recognized through proper funding of their services."

The Committee recommends concurrence on this substitute resolution; seconded by E. Johnston.

MS. J. RICE (NUPGE — BCGEU, Local 603): The most significant words in this resolution are the words "fear of retaliation" and in the last resolve "the proper funding of services for women". The listing of the services that are looked upon as being women's services includes transition houses, safe houses and interval houses, rape crisis lines, rape crisis centres, women's networks, resource centres, status of women committees, legal aid services, social assistance, unemployment insurance, just to name a few. The funding for these services comes either directly from the government through community grants or, unfortunately, through charitable contributions. These services were started by women to fight the problems that you heard the speakers previously talking about, the fear that women have of attacks, the violent attacks, the rapes, the assaults that go on in this country every day.

One of the unfortunate results of high unemployment and a move to the right is further violent attacks on women. And, as services for women become more and more necessary in these times of high unemployment, the neo-conservatives, the ultra right have placed very little, if any, value on services for women. Women are indeed victims. They are not necessarily only the victims of men but they clearly, in these times, are the victims of violent crimes.

There are fewer paid jobs and fewer well-paid jobs. We find that women in our communities are being battered, are being raped, are being assaulted, are facing the kinds of fears that unfortunately many of us do not adequately understand. And then we see the retaliation for speaking out when we try to talk about these assaults, when we try to talk about the importance of the services that are provided for women. We have seen, in British Columbia, in the Bennett government, the attacks on the services that in these times are more and more crucial. The retaliation against the spokespeople of organizations that provide services to women consists in funding cuts, community grants cuts, elimination of programs. In British Columbia, we have seen funding cuts at the women's resource centres, community health clinics, rape relief, transition houses, legal aid and social assistance, just to name a few. One of the effects we were talking about in the kinds of services that are provided are the effects of privatization and contracting-out. The services for women become a way for some people in the society to make a profit. The impact of that for women is more fear and more outrage and that outrage should be shared by all of us sitting on this Convention floor today.

We need a legal system that we all have access to and yet we see cuts in the legal services funding. We need services to provide those safe places for women and children to go to when they are the victims of assault. Yet we see those houses being closed; we see their funds being cut; and we see them being contracted-out for profit. It is our responsibility as trade unionists and as human beings to ensure that these kinds of services are not cut, to ensure that the funding is adequate, that the services are not just continued but they are improved and they are improved both through our legal systems and through our social systems.

I urge your support for this resolution and I urge you to take this back into your communities and to fight off the attacks that we are facing in these times.

MS. A. WEST (PSAC — CEIU, Local 20944): The previous speaker has outlined precisely what has been happening with the support systems that have affected all people of British Columbia. It is not just the women and children, it affects the men as well. It affects their human dignity in not being able to see the support systems come to our sisters in the movement. It affects the children, our children, the future of this country. The type of abuse that is going on right now perpetrates itself and it goes on and on through society. We cannot afford to have this type of cutback in social services affect our children, affect our whole Canadian well-being. We talk about our wages, our working conditions, but we should also be talking about the conditions at home — our home life which is so terribly important to all of us, to the well-being of women and children.

Each time one of our members, who is not in the union movement, is abused, it is a hurt to us as well. It is a degradation to each and everyone of us and if we do not support this resolution wholeheartedly, it will be a shame on this Canadian Labour Congress.

MR. W. THOMPSON (Hamilton & District Labour Council): I am speaking in support of the resolution. Our Council, being closer to the incidents which were described in the preamble to this resolution, found that we grappled long and hard with this problem. Our initial concerns and our initial outrage was over reactions of Ontario so-called justices, in jailing women who had the choice of either testifying in court and then facing the tender mercies of a motorcycle gang or remaining silent. They chose to remain silent, they were found in contempt. This is indeed a flawed judicial system.

It is also a flawed social system that permits these situations to exist and there is absolutely a failure to provide social services, to provide the half-way houses or the interval houses, to provide the bandages that are unfortunately necessary when we have families falling apart and hemorrhaging like they are. We certainly will support this resolution.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the main motion, one of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

At this point in time, I would ask the Committee to step down with our thanks.

ADDRESS BY LOUIS (SMOKEY) BRUYÈRE
President of the Native Council of Canada

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I would like to introduce you to a very important guest speaker. To this man and to the people that he represents, we owe a deep debt of gratitude. Smokey Bruyère is the President of the Native Council of Canada; he is out in the vineyards day in and day out, struggling with the complex and many problems of the people that he represents. He and I travel along the same road quite often and meet each other frequently. It is my pleasure to introduce to you at this time my good friend, the President of the Native Council of Canada, Smokey Bruyère. Mike 4, what is it?

MR. D. STOKES (ATU, Local 113): Thank you Mr. Chairman. Just for a point of record here at this Convention, a point of information. During the vote for the women's rights, delegates from the Amalgamated Transit were out in caucus and in that caucus, we supported the rights of women. During the time we were out the cameras came on our tables and showed empty tables. I would like to go on record at this Convention that our caucus supported the rights of women, in all aspects, and particularly in the aspects of pornography, because we too have mothers and wives and daughters and, therefore, we are in total support of it and we put this on record today because I do not want the cameras tonight to go across and to think that the Amalgamated Transit Union had walked out of this Convention.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Okay, we hear you. The President of the National Council of Canada.

MR. L. BRUYÈRE (President, Native Council of Canada): Let me first say how delighted I was to receive the invitation from your President, Mr. McDermott, for an opportunity to address you here today. As President of the Native Council of Canada, I represent more than a million native people in Canada who are faced with the real possibility that they will have no future and who may well be denied their identity as aboriginal people. And I hear you talking about rights in the last two days here and it is the very same thing we are talking about in terms of what we want for our people in Canada. The only thing, you are putting it in the labour movement, we are putting it in the aboriginal rights movement, in terms of how we see our people should be dealt with by the Canadian governments, provincially and federally.

For those of you who are not familiar with the Native Council of Canada, I should point out that we are a national aboriginal organization representing those Indian people who, under the Indian Act, are no longer recognized as Indian people and those Métis or mixed blood people who identify themselves as descendants of the people who originally occupied Canada before the coming of the Europeans. It is these people and their children who face the very real danger of having their future as aboriginal people in Canada terminated by governments.

Those of you who have been following the constitutional conferences with native people may be surprised by these remarks. The present Constitution of Canada, the Canada Act of 1982, does recognize and affirm the aboriginal treaty rights of aboriginal people and it does recognize and affirm the Indian, Inuit and Métis people's rights in Canada. That is true. It is also true that two constitutional conferences have been held in an attempt to identify and define the aboriginal rights of our people. The problem is that it looks like the negotiation process is being used by governments to reduce the numbers of people who might benefit from these negotiations. I do not have to tell you, as union people, how important and how tricky negotiations can be. Many of you, I am sure, have spent hundreds of hours negotiating in good faith for what you sincerely believe were your just rights only to discover that the very people across the table from you were playing a very different game, most often at your expense.

In your case, the stakes can often be measured in dollars and cents or in benefits and better working conditions. In the case of Métis and non-status Indians, the stakes are quite simply survival as a people. Unfortunately, the negotiations are not going as well as most people seem to think. Our provincial president in Quebec put it very well the day after the last conference. As a poker player, he was very impressed with the fact that Prime Minister Trudeau sat at a table for two days, with 17 players and never dealt anyone so much as a pair.

We, at the NCC, felt some satisfaction that we got our issues clearly on the table and, via the television, in front of the Canadian public but we were disappointed in the lack of concrete results. The only winners in that particular game were those governments who really did not want to play, mainly British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Alberta. To take this poker analogy one step further, it is beginning to look like the side bets, for some players, are the real point of the game and the main pot is getting slimmer every round. I should make it clear that the NCC very much supports the aspirations of both our status Indian brothers and sisters and the Assembly of First Nations, who are the Indians recognized under the Indian Act, and our Inuit friends who are represented at the table by the Inuit Committee on National Issues. But it is becoming increasingly clear that both of these groups are reaping the benefits of a special bilateral process with the federal government.

That relationship is being denied to the Métis and the non-status Indians of Canada who outnumber the status and Inuit people by at least three to one. There has been a lot of hoopla in the papers recently about the Penner Report on self-government for Indian people. Not too many people realize that all of those proposals only apply to status Indians who are currently organized into bands associated with specific reservations. In terms of numbers, the great majority of Indian and Métis people in Canada will not benefit from all this much publicized activity. Canadians are also being told that the Department of Indian Affairs is providing literally millions of dollars to Indian bands to prepare for self-government, but what they do not tell you is that only status Indians, who number around 25 per cent of the aboriginal people in Canada, will receive these monies. The majority of aboriginal people, the Métis and non-status Indians whom the NCC represents, have been effectively dealt out of this entire process. If you believe the publicity you read, you would think that the federal government is going all-out to settle Indian and Inuit claims all over Canada. Again, what you do not get a chance to read is that Métis and non-status Indians are excluded from the claims' process in all but a few claims north of 60° and in a few areas where no treaties have ever been signed.

In short, while the federal government is beating the constitutional drum under the glare of television lights and declaring to the world that Canada's native people are being justly dealt with, that same federal government is, in effect, making special deals and paying off side bets behind the scenes. For example, we can take a whole look at aboriginal rights and aboriginal title, the whole basis for the position of aboriginal people at the conference table. They are conducting land claims agreements in the Northwest Territories and in the Yukon and insisting that all aboriginal rights be extinguished as a condition of settlement. While the Justice Minister proclaimed a new deal for aboriginal people, his legal staff was drafting agreements which eliminate these rights forever.

If they get tired of playing poker, it would seem the federal ministers would do all right with the old shell game in some political side show, maybe sooner than they think. What it all comes down to is that our people, the Métis and non-status Indians of Canada, by far the majority of aboriginal people in Canada, are in danger of losing their future and their right to self-determination as aboriginal people.

Now that the Constitution is safely repatriated, and there is less danger of international repercussions, the very guarantees that made repatriation possible may well be whittled away at the conference table. One of the reasons I am here is to ask you to help to keep that from happening. Before I get into some detail on just how you can help us, perhaps I should outline for you just what our position at the conference table is and what we expected to happen when we went into that whole constitutional process.

People are always asking us what we want as if we were some kind of street beggar who could be bought off with a handout or two. You would think after a few hundred years these people would realize that we are talking about something else. When we talk about aboriginal rights, we are not talking about a free lunch, we are talking about the internationally recognized right of our people, of any people to self-determination and the right to survive as an aboriginal people.

Up until the end of World War II, government policy towards aboriginal people in Canada was based on one simple assumption: that we would be extinct in a few more decades. In fact, that assumption has been the basis for dealing with native people for more than 150 years in what we now call Canada. In the 1920s, the Minister of Indian Affairs of the day actually told the House of Commons that his job was to pursue this policy until there was not a single Indian in Canada left, apart from the general population. "Assimilate or die" was the theme and it was pursued with a vengeance. The law of the day was used to criminalize cultural activities like the potlatch in B.C. and the education system, through the mechanisms of residential schools, forcibly deprived two generations of Indian youth of contact with their culture. Excluded from both the political and economic life of the country, native people were expected to disappear under the weight of these opposition policies.

Obviously and fortunately for Canada, these policies were doomed to failure. The Indian veterans who returned from World War II had a much better sense of their rights both as individuals and as Indians, even though many found themselves disfranchised when they returned. They were the newest generation of non-status Indians. I don't know how many of you realize that, when these men and women went away to the Second World War, because of government law, they were "franchised" Indians. Thus, when they came back, they no longer were considered Indians because they then were considered "civilized" because they had fought in the war. That was the law of the day at the time.

A resurrection of native culture and native values occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. The red power movement of the 1960s, combined with a small and large Liberal policies of participation. Our participatory democracy sponsored the growth of aboriginal organizations including the Native Council of Canada. Even now, it is difficult to determine whether the organizations created government policy or vice-versa; but it was clear from the beginning that there were very different perceptions of the functions of national native organizations as far as governments and native leaders were concerned.

Governments perceived the organizations as bureaucratic extensions of themselves and the native communities for the purpose of delivering social and economic programs and services. Most native leaders perceived themselves to be a spearhead of aboriginal rights plunged into the hearts of neo-colonial government policies and central European bureaucracies. Just as native people themselves can no longer be perceived as some kind of semi-civilized wards of a benevolent state, so native organizations surpassed their role as bureaucratic handmaidens for government programs and began to create a marked profile as political activists in a more volatile area of aboriginal rights and claims.

The federal government handed us sufficient monies to absorb the native organizations and land claims research for years. Unexpectedly, the research, in fact, validated the Métis and non-status claims and the federal government found it increasingly difficult to ignore the fact that the box-boys they thought they had hired to deliver the goods were about to take over the store.

Just when it seems government has successfully defused land claims, the repatriation of the Constitution created a new and much more explosive arena for the negotiation of aboriginal rights. To get agreements from the provinces, which meant a minimum reference to aboriginal rights, and at the same time to ensure passage through British Parliament, which meant a strong statement of aboriginal rights, Trudeau had to walk a very fine line indeed. To satisfy the provinces, the word "existing" was inserted in the aboriginal rights clause. To satisfy the NCC, the word "Métis" was included in the aboriginal rights clause. And to satisfy the British Parliament, a constitutional conference was planned within a year and it was held. It was during the preparation for that meeting that specific NCC positions were developed for putting forward to the Canadian public. There are four basic elements in that position. We are insisting that the recognition of aboriginal rights entitled be applied equally, not just between sexes. In Canada right now, the federal government has responsibility for Indians and Inuit. Up until 1939, they only had responsibility for Indians. In 1939, the Eskimos took them to court and they now have responsibility for Inuit but they at this point in time have no responsibility for Métis people.

And finally, we maintained the right to access to our aboriginal treaty rights including pre-Confederation treaties as descendants of the aboriginal people of Canada. We must establish each of these points at the conference table or run a very real risk of once again being labelled as some kind of second class aboriginal citizen or even worse, losing our ability to maintain our distinct aboriginal heritage in Canada.

We, at the NCC, have good reason to value the help of the labour movement in Canada. We are convinced that your support and that of your President, Mr. McDermott, at the beginning of this constitutional conference process in 1983, provided us with valuable leverage, particularly with those government players who would rather see the whole process fade into history without any real results. The fact that the federal government conducted a nationwide poll to test public opinion on aboriginal issues, prior to every conference, makes it only too obvious that they are sensitive to public support.

So once again, there is no question that labour is a major factor in the development of these public opinion polls that take place. So once again, we come to you for your continued and valuable support especially at this time when at least two of the major conference players, the Justice Minister and the Minister of Indian Affairs, are involved in the leadership race. And when a national election is in the wind, your publicly proclaimed support of our position could really make a critical difference. I suspect the government is convinced that Canadians either do not understand or are indifferent to the fact that Métis and non-status Indians are being given the short end of the stick in the conference process.

If you, as a lobby group, were to let these individuals in their departments and governments know that the labour movement in Canada will not tolerate that kind of injustice, it could significantly affect how we are being treated at the conference table but there is one other area I would like to explore with you.

There is another area I would like to explore with you, because we do not have the multi-million dollar bankroll of the Department of Indian Affairs behind us as the status Indians do, and because we have not been the recipients of millions of dollars in claim settlements as the Inuit have, we cannot afford some of the essential resources we need to do our best at the conference table. One of the resources that we cannot afford is expert help with the negotiations themselves. When I thought about speaking with you here today, I realized I would probably be addressing some of the most knowledgeable people in the country when it comes to conducting negotiations. The expertise in this room alone could probably improve our chances at the conference table several times over. I began to think it might be possible to have your resources in terms of professional negotiators, to advise us over the next few years. I realize that this is a very much new idea. It is a new idea I think that we are putting across to you and to ourselves. But I would like your organization to consider it very seriously and to meet with us in the coming months ahead to discuss the very possibility of something like this happening.

The important thing to remember is that we are fighting for our future and the future of our children. We want to make sure that a future exists in this country for aboriginal people as aboriginal Canadians. And if our people begin to think there is no future, then our people are very likely to lose their identity and Canada will have lost forever what could be one of its most valuable resources, the majority of its aboriginal people. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. Will the other members of the Constitution and Law Committee please come to the platform.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS COMMITTEE

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): I would ask delegates to again address Document No. 1, the Report of the Constitution and Laws Committee, and the Committee will be dealing at this time with Resolution C-1 and Resolution C-2. The Committee moves concurrence in Resolution C-1 to cover both C-1 and C-2. Resolution C-1 reads as follows:

> "WHEREAS there is a need to have a better balance of representation between the private and public sector on the Executive Committee;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the positions on the Executive Committee be expanded by two by changing the reference in Article VI, Section 1 from six (6) General Vice-Presidents to eight (8) General Vice-Presidents."

And on behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by D. Patterson.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): The motion has been duly moved and seconded.

MR. G. DOER (NUPGE — MGEA, Local 507): In 1956, when the Canadian Labour Congress was put together, the Executive Board motion was placed before the Convention delegates. There were six general vice-presidents based on six of the largest unions in some of the critical industries in Canada. Since that time, the Canadian Labour Congress has been very successful in organizing workers in the public service and there is now in this Congress close to one million public sector workers. Since that time public sector workers have taken their places as equal members of our economy and equal partners in our collective fights and we feel the proposal to increase from six to eight will help our representation in the collective decision-making of the Executive Council.

MR. N. RICHARDS (NUPGE — BCGEU, Local 1201): I would like to compliment the President of the Executive Council for bringing this resolution to the Convention. I think too many times we all rush to the mikes to stand up to criticize the President of the Executive Council and I think this is a step in the right direction so I would like to compliment you for bringing this resolution forward.

I think and I hope that I live to see the day when we are all referred to as workers, that we drop the terminology, public and private sector. I think today, probably more than at any other time, it is time to unite the labour movement, that we have to go forward together. So I thank you and I hope every delegate here votes in favour of this resolution.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): I see no delegates at the microphones, so I will put the question. The question before the house is the adoption of the recommendation of the Committee. All in favour, please show by raising your hand. Down. Any opposed. The motion is carried by the two-thirds required in the Constitution.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): I would now ask the delegates to turn to page 2 of the Report of the Constitution and Laws Committee and on page 2, the Committee on Constitution and Laws recommends concurrence in the Executive Council Policy Paper entitled Collective Action for Collective Victories. Document No. 21. This policy paper which we are recommending concurrence in, leads into the Resolution C-5 which is the next order of business that we will be dealing with.

COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR COLLECTIVE VICTORIES

"Since the Great Depression of the 1930s, labour and other socially-minded people have seen government as a way to redress the wrongs of society, and to promote a stable economic growth. This benign view of government is now under attack in most industrialized countries. The approach of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher has now been copied by Bill Bennett and others in Canada. Such governments seek both to undermine the rights of labour itself and also the social programs for which we have fought. Thus we have seen wage control legislation and bills that attack the union shop. In addition, programs such as medicare, day care, and other basic programs have now been eroded. While the tax system always did tend to favour the rich, the thrust of the federal Liberals and the Conservatives is now that it should benefit them even more.

"In order to make their arguments sound more reasonable, these governments refer to the need to balance the budget as the family does. Large deficits caused by rising unemployment have given rise not to programs to eliminate unemployment, but to attacks on basic social benefits. That the deficit is also caused by revenue foregone by tax loopholes for the rich, such as Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs), or by tax write-offs for the corporations, has not been a concern of most governments. Indeed, John Crosbie, when discussing the priority of a federal Conservative government, stated that it would be to reduce the deficit, which may entail cutting back entitlements to universal programs by a means-testing as well as cutting out some temporary job-creation programs.

"Instead of the community using its government to build up support for families and individuals, governments now speak of the need to cut out programs in order to allow the family and individuals to shoulder more of the responsibility. In other matters, governments prefer to let the free market allocate goods and not to play the role themselves of redistributing wealth.

"In the past, labour has always fought to gain for others what we want for ourselves. We have always seen the expansion of the role of government in areas like pensions as a way to achieve this end. In the past 50 years, the legislative battle has often been led by the NDP — the party that the CLC helped to form. The efforts of the New Democrats led by Tommy Douglas, David Lewis and Ed Broadbent have helped push forward collective solutions to our problems.

"Our enemies are now attacking the basic assumption under which both labour and New Democrats have worked. Full employment is no longer an objective of finance ministers. Economic policies which led us into depression are now portrayed as the means to get us out of the worst recession since the Second World War. In responding to this challenge, labour cannot afford to dissipate its energies. We must target our resources and energies on those issues that we believe to be the most important.

"In selecting our issues, there needs to be a greater attention paid to the wishes and desires of the affiliates. It is not sufficient for delegates to vote at a Convention that a policy is good, for labour to be effective. What is needed is for affiliates to sit down and review which policy makes most sense to their members at this time. Only on this basis can a realistic commitment be given. To achieve this end the CLC, in its discussions on major programs, must explicitly involve the affiliates.

"Before embarking on national campaigns, the Congress Officers would meet with Ranking Officers of the affiliates and of the federations to examine on which national issues there was a consensus for action. Affiliates would review possible options in light of their collective bargaining strategies and the interest of their members in the issues. The specific program of action would be drawn up in co-operation with the CLC Standing Committee that had an interest in the area and all CLC departments. The Executive Committee and Council of the Congress would have final approval for any campaign.

Funding

"In the past, when national programs have been agreed upon by the Executive Council, it has been necessary often to then solicit funds from individual affiliates. The generosity of many affiliates on these occasions has been most appreciated. It has, however, been felt by those that have given that a more equitable way should be found so that everyone pays their fair share. It is recommended that a per capita payment to the CLC set aside for national campaigns is the fairest way to do this. The Executive Council, in deciding upon which programs to undertake, would have in mind the financial resources that were provided by such a per capita. It is not envisaged that special financial appeals would be made to finance these major efforts.

"If the national campaign is to be effective, there must be sufficient funds. A monthly payment of five cents per member would provide $1.2 million per year. This sum could finance campaigns such as the TV interest rate campaign and Peace Caravan on which the CLC was forced to appeal to affiliates for funds. Though such monies could be used on key issues now, it is recognized that the resources of the affiliates are still strained from the effects of the recession and are limited by already existing commitments. Therefore, there will be no increase in 1984. The five cents will be a guideline in 1985 to be paid in cash or in equivalent. It is recommended that the five cents be included as part of the regular CLC per capita on January 1, 1986.

Conclusion

"For over 100 years, working people through their unions have fought to better the lives and working conditions of average Canadians. Today that struggle is facing even greater challenges. While we seek to improve the conditions of groups at a disadvantage, such as women, the elderly and the handicapped, others are seeking to tear down what we have already built. Technological change and government economic policies have undermined our job security. Employers play on this growing insecurity and demand concessions.

"If workers through their unions are to be a force to be reckoned with in the future, we must fight back by uniting on common issues of high priority to us. We must take our message to the union member, the union hall, and the legislatures. The bargaining table and the ballot box are two routes we must pursue to achieve our goals."

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): To pursue those twin goals, we need to establish a fund which will be used to mount fight-back campaigns. Resolution C-5 deals with that. But first of all, on behalf of the Committee, I would like to recommend concurrence in adoption of the policy paper, seconded by Jack Munro.

MR. R. WHITE (Canadian Director, UAW): I think what we do here is going to assist in terms of the action campaigns that we take out of this Convention and carry across the country for the next couple of years.

In the last two years and before that, I think it is fair to say that most of us have been involved in a lot of demonstrations, a lot of action campaigns whether it was the interest rates campaign, the Economic Recovery Alternative, the anti-concessions fight, now the Peace Petition Caravan. So many times we meet at the Executive Council and make decisions to try and conduct a national campaign on these issues and then some people make commitments on funds and then we find out those people cannot bring the funds to the Canadian Labour Congress; we end up having to pass the hat all the time. What we are really saying in this position paper, and the subsequent constitutional changes that will be proposed by this Committee, is we want to establish a sort of a new format. If we select certain areas for national campaigns — the one I happen to think about is the issue of shorter work time in this country — then the CLC has to conduct a national campaign across this country on educating and mobilizing the membership in the labour movement on the issue of shorter work time. We cannot do that without money and we cannot do that without organization and we cannot do that without conferences, etc. and we cannot do it by going to certain unions and saying you have to give us $50,000; or somebody else, give us $75,000.

What we are saying is we will really be a national labour centre. If we are really going to conduct on-going political campaigns in this country, not waiting for election time to just support the New Democratic Party; but campaign on work time, on interest rates, on job-creation, on unemployment in this country, then we have to have the finances within the Canadian Labour Congress to conduct that campaign and everybody has to pay their share. If everybody pays their share, then we would have about a million and a half dollars and what we would do after this Convention is sit down with some heads of unions, affiliates, as well as the Executive Council, and say: "What do we see as a couple of the most important national issues that we want to take across this country?" It might be deregulation because, if you look at it, it is not just limited to the airlines, it is moving in other public sector areas, labour relations boards and everything else. It may be the whole question of pension reform.

We cannot really plan those national campaigns unless we have a sense of what the budget will be. Now those of us who are promoting this within the Executive Council really want this to take effect January 1, 1985, and not 1986. But, in fairness, there are some unions in this Congress who already have their budgets in place, who do not have a convention before 1986 or late 1985 in order to deal with this. So the proposal that will be coming from the Constitution Committee really says two things: that we will enshrine this in the Constitution and it will be mandatory for everybody as of January 1, 1986, but as of January 1, 1985, those organizations that can, on a voluntary basis, should do that. I can tell you if this is passed by this Convention, UAW will commence to pay its five cents as of January 1, 1985.

We in the Executive Council are discussing the paper that was referred to us from the Convention and hopefully tomorrow, at some point, we will come back with a paper that will include a plan of action. If we are to be serious about those kinds of actions, we have to have the financial support. If we get the financial support, we can put the organizational support, with the help of the affiliates, to carry the issues across this nation, that are so important to the working people, if we are to get them involved in the issue of job-creation, shorter work time, pension reform, deregulation and the important national issues.

MR. S. O'FLYNN (NUPGE — OPSEU, Local 242): I speak in favour of this paper and I urge the delegates to support the constitutional amendment.

As you look across this country, as you look at B.C. you look at Alberta and you look at Ontario, you find it very difficult to find too much hope in terms of the legislators that we have sitting in the various legislatures and you find no hope at all when you look at what is happening in Ottawa.

The forces that we are up against are great. They have plenty of money and they do not mind spending it in their own interest. The labour movement does not have a lot of money and seems to be reluctant to amass a great amount of money. Well, it is about time that we did. It is about time that we arrive at a situation where we give a direction to the Executive of the Congress, that we also give them the money to do what we have told them to do. And we have not done that as yet. So, as Bob White said, the Convention will be dealing with an action program tomorrow in order to redress some of the ills of society and to put right some of the injustices, to pursue a policy of jobs for all, a policy of full employment which has been very much lacking over the years. We have a selling job to do with our own members, a selling job to do with the public. We have a political education job to do with our own members. We have to get them to recognize that, just as the business interests served their best interests, our members should be prepared to spend money to pursue their best interests.

And of course the issue of politics enters into this question and whether or not some of this money might be used in order to prepare the ground for the election of a New Democratic Party government.

Well, I say that that would be money well spent, if the money were to be used for education in order to get our members to recognize that they are doing themselves a poor service when they vote in favour of Tories or Liberals and fail to recognize that their best interests are served by voting for the New Democratic Party.

So I urge you to support this paper and to support the constitutional amendment which will give some money to the Congress so that they can pursue the programs that we tell them to do between conventions.

MR. R. GINGERICH (CBRT & GW): I rise to support the recommendation of adoption of the policy paper and to urge support for the adoption of Resolution C-5 which will follow.

I want, at the same time, to congratulate those people on the Executive Council and Congress staff, particularly Bob White and Pat Kerwin who have taken the time over the past month and a half, or two months, to consult with some of the affiliates on this very important question of the establishment of this kind of fund. That consultation has taken place and I think it is to the credit of the officers of the Congress that they have had the foresight and the good sense to make sure that that was done.

Some of our better functioning local unions make sure that they plan and budget and fund for the important things and the essential things that they have to do from time to time. In the case of the Canadian Labour Congress, with very important action programs, we have been inclined to handle the funding and paying the bills on a rather *ad hoc* basis. Everything, from the interest rates' campaign to the present Peace Petition Caravan campaign, and a whole lot of things in between has been possible and has been paid for because many of the unions represented in this Convention have come through on special appeals and have provided the funds to do those things when they had to be done. And most of the unions represented in this Convention are in that category and certainly my union is one that has contributed on a regular basis to all of the important campaigns.

However, that really is not good enough. It is not good enough because it does not provide planning and the funds for the action campaigns that will be discussed here in this Convention. And it is not good enough because it is not fair to those unions that have borne the load over many years at the expense sometimes of some other organizations that have paid lip service to the campaigns and the action programs that have been initiated but have not put up the funds when the time came to pay the bills.

To ensure that the kind of fairness, that we all pay our share to ensure the kind of planning that the Congress officers and the staff are then able to do, based on what they know, based on the funds that they know are available, to give us when we come to Convention that kind of assurance and confidence that the money is there to do the things we want to do, this amendment is needed.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): All right. I'm going to test the house. All those in favour of the question now being put, please show, raise your hand. Those in favour. Down. Any opposed. Motion to put the question has been carried. We now vote on the Committee recommendation to adopt Document 21. All in favour, please show by raising your hand. Down. Any opposed. Two-thirds, the motion to pass and adopt the policy statement has been approved.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): The policy paper flows into Resolution C-5 which I will now read:

"WHEREAS there is a need for labour to mount national campaigns on issues which the affiliates designate; and

"WHEREAS these campaigns should be based on everyone paying their share rather than on *ad hoc* appeals for money;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the affiliated unions agree to pay an additional five cents per member per month to be earmarked for national campaigns approved by the Executive Council;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the the affiliates would begin to pay the five cents on the basis of a guideline as of January 1, 1985; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the first sentence of Section 2, Article XVII of the Canadian Labour Congress Constitution be amended to read: 'Each affiliated organization shall pay before the last day of each month for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 43 cents, increasing to 48 cents effective January 1, 1986.'"

The Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution C-5. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by P. Samson of the Public Service Alliance.

MR. J.C. PARROT (CUPW President): I rise to speak in favour of this recommendation because I was particularly pleased on the Council to support this resolution dealing with campaigns that are to be organized within the CLC. Today I am as pleased to support it, considering what has been accomplished since the opening of the Convention in the floor debate and decisions taken. And it is my belief that we will be even still happier to lend our support — I hope it is tomorrow — to the economic policy document which deals with much needed campaigns for a shorter work week and other important issues such as jobs for youth.

The resolution also speaks of mounting national campaigns. If we want to campaign nationally, we need the assistance of all affiliates, whether national, regional, or local; we need the assistance of the federations, we need the assistance of the District Labour Councils. I hope that we will see all the affiliates not only giving the five cents — which will be paying their share of the amount that in the past was paid by only a few affiliates — but affiliating 100 per cent with the CLC and 100 per cent with the Federations of Labour. There are still affiliates who have not done so yet.

Do not think that campaigns will function simply because you are paying five cents into a fund. These campaigns will be a success only if everyone in the labour movement participates fully. Because that money comes almost in every case from national organizations, I also hope we will decide at this convention, to have all the affiliates, all the locals do their share by affiliating also to the District Labour Councils. If we want to talk about the labour movement as united to carry out whatever campaign, political campaigns, campaigns for reduced working time, to create jobs, to join in coalitions with others, we have to put all our shares together. I hope this resolution will be adopted unanimously and, at the same time, that we will get the other support that will be needed at all levels.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): There is one speaker left on mike 2. I am sure you will be very brief and then we will put the motion through the delegates to deal with the recommendation of the Committee.

MR. G. YETMAN (Nova Scotia Federation of Labour): I rise at this time in full support of the recommendation which is before this

Convention and I do so because it is obvious. I listened to speakers yesterday at this microphone talking about what we will do and what we should be doing and a plan of action and if Bob White said that report will come back to this Convention tomorrow or the next day then we have to have money to finance it. We have a saying in my part of Canada, let us put our pocketbook where our mouths are, so let us do it and let us pass this unanimously.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): The motion before the house is the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution as recommended by the Committee. All in favour, please show by raising your hand. Down. Those opposed. Carried by more than two-thirds majority required. Convention stands adjourned till 9:30 a.m. tomorrow morning.

The Convention adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 30
Morning Session

President Dennis McDermott called the Convention to order at 9:35 a.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The Convention should know that this was the final morning for our friends The Travellers. Gerry Gray and The Travellers are not just entertainers, they believe in what they are singing, they are friends of labour, they have been for a long, long time. We wish them success and we express to them our appreciation and gratitude.

(The delegates joined The Travellers in the singing of "Solidarity Forever".)

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

MR. I. REILLY (Credentials Committee Chairman): The third report of the Credentials Committee:

Fraternal delegates	3
ICFTU representative	1
Congress Officers	4
Representatives of Affiliated Organizations	101
Federations of Labour	20
Labour Councils	84
Locals of Affiliated Organizations	2,107
Directly Chartered Unions	17
TOTAL	2.337

I move, on behalf of the Committee, this report; seconded by L. Nicholson (Committee Secretary).

MS. J. FOX (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 66): Point of privilege, Brother Chairman. I would like to make an apology to the people, brothers and sisters in the Amalgamated Transit Union. Yesterday afternoon, one of the brothers from the Amalgamated Transit Union got up and made a public statement about how his union stood on the affirmative action constitutional amendment. The reason for that was because yesterday afternoon while I was standing in line here, the two tables reserved for their delegates were empty and I made the assumption and left a note insinuating that they were not there because of the topic. I have been corrected on that, I was out of line, and I would like to make my apologies now. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): That is what we are about.

MR. W. CRAWFORD (PSAC, Public Works Component, Local 27): Point of privilege, Mr. Chairman. In your introductary remarks on Monday morning, you pointed out that the fire exits were at the rear of the hall here and that is a good safety measure. But I noticed yesterday, on two occasions, we had to sit through two video recordings and during these video recordings all the lights in the hall were switched out. I think this quite frightening and if you could ask the operators to leave half the lights on, this would be a better safety measure.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): All right, the point is well taken. We will instruct the engineers accordingly to dim the lights but not to turn them right off.

All those in favour of the report of the Credentials Committee, please show. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered. The report of the Credentials Committee is adopted.

I again call on General Vice-President Bob White to report to you on the proposed procedure for today.

MR. R. WHITE (General Vice-President, CLC): We will follow the agenda this morning as laid out in the program of business, which deals with the report of the Transportation and Maritime Committee including the matter of Deregulation.

Lynn Williams, the International President of the United Steelworkers, will speak to the Convention around 11:00 o'clock and then the Health and Safety Committee will make their report.

The Executive Council decided this morning that it is absolutely necessary for us to have an evening session this evening as scheduled, from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. so all of you who had baseball tickets, you should see if you can get rid of them, give them or sell them to somebody.

The Economic Statement that was referred back to the Executive Council, we expect to have back from the printers this morning and hope to get it on the agenda this afternoon.

TRANSPORTATION AND MARITIME COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): I now call on the Chairman of the Transportation and Maritime Committee.

MR. J. HUNTER (Chairman, Transportation and Maritime Committee): The documents that we will be dealing with are two: Document No. 28, the Statement on Deregulation which is being brought in through the Transportation and Maritime Committee from the Executive Council; and Document No. 7, which deals with the resolutions referred to this Committee.

STATEMENT ON DEREGULATION

"The trend towards deregulation in various sectors of the economy has grown dramatically since the beginning of the Reagan presidency in the U.S. It is no mere coincidence!

"Deregulation is part and parcel of the philosophy that 'The government that governs least, governs best'. It has quickly become the rallying cry of those forces, encouraged by a supportive Reagan administration, which advocates a minimal role for government in economic affairs. In short, deregulation is the new buzzword for returning to the 'good old days' of private enterprise operating in an unfettered free market.

"After decades of experience in the workplace, of dealing with issues related to labour standards and employer-employee relations, trade unionists know the utter fallacy of the 'good old days' image. Ultimately, it means total management prerogative and complete denial of worker rights. In other words, 'good' for a few but certainly not for the many. This illustrates the very heart of the question that deregulation poses: how are its costs and benefits distributed?

"The early record of the wave of deregulation in the U.S. clearly shows some of the costs and who has borne them. Since 1978, deregulation has spread from the airline industry to bus, rail and truck transport, to banking and to telecommunications. In its wake, it has left a trail of serious, negative impacts, including: a large loss of jobs, wage rollbacks, repeated attacks on union contracts, threats to public safety and inequities in prices and service. Out of this chaos have emerged two main effects of deregulation — weakened trade unions and a marked deterioration in the obligation to provide service in the public interest.

"In spite of the consequences (or, perhaps because of them), proponents of deregulation, from the Fraser Institute to federal

Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy, have already begun their campaign to import U.S.-style deregulation into Canada. In areas as diverse as meat grading and inspection; the telephone industry and air transport; the pressure to deregulate is mounting. The labour movement must be prepared to respond to this pressure.

"Throughout its history, the Canadian Labour Congress has actively sought regulatory measures by Canadian governments. Examples of this petitioning would include matters such as: occupational health and safety, environmental protection, labour standards/labour relations, consumer protection, corporate financial disclosure, sexual and racial discrimination and minimum standards for private pensions. Why have we called for regulation with respect to these and other issues! Precisely because they represent certain social objectives that cannot and will not be realized through the functioning of economic markets.

"Regulatory frameworks have developed to protect and promote national objectives, in recognition of a number of market 'failures'. These failures include monopolistic pricing and other restrictions on trade, destructive competition, imperfect knowledge in the market place,dangers to public safety and health, overexploitation of common resources, infringements on civil rights and regional disparities in prices and access to services. Strip away regulation, and these inherent 'failures' will quickly re-emerge and intensify.

"The publicity generated by bargain-basement air fares to popular holiday destinations such as Florida, has raised expectations about the benefits of deregulation for consumers. The danger in such perception is that the *long term interests of all consumers* will be ignored. As the Standing Committee on Transport has observed, while air fares on certain high density routes in the U.S. have dropped, rates on less competitive routes have risen considerably. Also, a September, 1983 Civil Aeronautics Board report showed that, since 1978, 351 U.S. communities had suffered reduced service while 106 had lost service altogether.

"Similarly, in the U.S., some 50,000 miles of rail lines have been abandoned while truck and bus service has been cut back. Local telephone rates have increased by as much as 74 per cent. Chequing charges and banking fees for small depositors have risen.

"Essentially, the pattern of deregulation has been to increase rates and decrease service for 'unprofitable' customers while conferring benefits of questionable sustainability on a relative few. Over the longer term, cutthroat competition will inevitably lead to business failures and more concentration which in turn will hurt all consumers. These trends, along with emerging fears about public safety, as a result of destructive cost-cutting, must be used to counter narrow, short-sighted consumer advocacy as exemplified increasingly by the Consumers' Association of Canada.

"Cleverly, the proponents of deregulation have played on the grievance of a public that is often confused, skeptical and angry about the impact of regulation on their lives. We cannot afford to ignore these grievances. They are real and in many cases, they are legitimate. What they suggest strongly, is that the *quality of regulation* must be addressed.

"While defending the rationale for regulation, the labour movement must also press for on-going assessment of its effectiveness. Such an assessment should include the following aspects:

- administration and enforcement
- adjudication procedures
- clarity of language used
- public input
- access to information
- public scrutiny and accountability
- jurisdictional simplification.

"Undoubtedly, in many instances, a thorough review of regulatory structures according to the above operating procedures would reveal the need for reform. It is critical to remember however, that the *difference between necessary and desirable reform and wholesale dismantling* of these structures, is *absolutely fundamental.* Regulatory reform must be based on the dual principles of equity and fairness.

"An important source of public unease about regulation is the frequent perception that regulatory agencies become merely advocates for the industry under their jurisdiction, rather than public interest watchdogs. The flip-flops of the National Energy Board throughout the 1970s on reserve estimates, exports and pipelines are the kind of thing that reinforce this view. The answer to this concern, of course, is not deregulation, but rather tougher regulation that places priority on the need to reflect the broad, public interest. Unless this commitment to the public interest can be demonstrated, the public's faith in regulatory processes will understandably diminish.

"If the bottom line of public support for regulation is essentially one of confidence that their needs and interests are being protected, the corporate sector has its own bottom line — unrestrained free entreprise.

"An important corollary to fewer restraints on management's operation of the corporation, of course, is more constaint on the freedoms and rights of its work force. Incursions into the hard-won rights of workers and trade unions have been manifested recently in Canada in several ways. These include direct government interference via wage controls and severe limitations on free collective bargaining, restrictions on the right to strike, roadblocks to organizing and certification and subjection of arbitration awards to fiscal policy — all of which, and more, is designed to shift even more power into the hands of public and private sector employers at the expense of their employees.

"In a very basic sense, therefore, the debate over deregulation is political. It involves making choices with the will to back them up.

"The essence of politics is qualitative judgement about the type of society that, collectively, we wish to have. The quantitative measure of the market offers little guidance in reaching that judgement. These are simply no easy price tags that can be attached to a workable and fair system of labour relations, or the right to employment without having to fear that race or sex will be a barrier, or the enjoyment of a lake free from pollution. Nevertheless, how we consider these, and other, issues speaks loudly about the quality of life to which we aspire.

"The fight over deregulation has barely begun in Canada. What shape it takes and how it is resolved will go far in determining the kind of country in which we live — a meaner, more divided, less equal one or a fairer, more compassionate one.

"In order to ensure that the labour movement is better prepared to meet this challenge, the Canadian Labour Congress will sponsor a conference on deregulation in the Fall of 1984."

MR. J. HUNTER (Transportation and Maritime Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I would move concurrence in Document 28; seconded by a member of the Committee.

MR. V. BOURGEOIS (IAM, International Vice-President): It is very important that we look fairly at the message which is spelled out in the Statement on Deregulation because, underneath this message, it is nothing but an anti-worker, anti-union message. On the surface, deregulation, or getting rid of unnecessary and wasteful government rules, has considerable appeal to everyone. All of us can easily think of some government law or regulation we could do without, such as parking regulations, taxes and many others. Most of us, however, realize that government laws and their enforcement, while they are not always what we desire, are essential if we want a reasonable and fair, efficient society. We only have to picture, for instance, driving without the traffic laws that the police enforce or much worse yet, our elderly without a public pension system.

The kind of regulated capitalism that has developed particularly since the Second World War, to protect capitalism from its worse excesses, is under attack by the deregulators. Private enterprise, they say, does everything better; investment, pensions, medical care. All the government has to do is provide a positive environment and a good investment climate for corporations and get out of the way.

While deregulation rhetoric is all about individual rights and individual freedom, what it really means is increased freedom for corporations, not workers or consumers. One area in which the Machinists have had a very direct contact in deregulation is in the air transport industry. In the U.S., our organization lost, in the last few years, some 40,000 jobs. Even though there was supposedly a labour protection provision in the Deregulation Act that was supposed to provide transitional help to our displaced members, the weakness of deregulation and its enforcement has meant that not a single worker has yet received any help.

We intend, as an organization, to continue the fight against destructive deregulation policies, be it air transport, railways, telecommunications, fuel, gas. We will be there and we will join and we will fight with the others that want to join us. In the U.S., the experience has shown us that the cheap air fares, that were promised, were more or less fantasy; but they are an even stronger reason why all workers should be fighting the deregulation wave.

Deregulation ties into an attack on workers in every other sector. I would ask that this statement be adopted unanimously and that the Fall conference be called as soon as possible.

MR. P. STIER (CALFAA, Secretary-Treasurer): I stand here today with joy because I see nobody on the "con" mikes. I stand here today before you because our union is fully behind the Committee and their statement. We are opposed to deregulation and I believe that I speak on behalf of all of our members, all workers in the transportation industry and communications industry and declare that deregulation of the transportation and communications industry is sheer lunacy. We oppose deregulation since cutthroat competition will hurt the Canadian public as a whole. It will not benefit the public in any way whatsoever, including lower air fares. Every industry in Canada will be affected by deregulation since the airline industry, the total transportation industry and the communications industry are consumers of all that. However, allow me to demonstrate the non-benefit to the public of deregulation in the aviation industry. It is the Canadian public which paid dearly to establish the Canadian airline industry, the building of airports and related facilities, the air traffic control system, the development of airplanes, the research and development of safe practices for the protection of the Canadian and foreign travellers in Canada and on Canadian aircraft.

Regulated air fares assured that the monies invested in development were slowly returned to the Canadian public. The airline employers, as consumers of the safe practice in the facilities, charged a certain amount of money, regulated though, to the consumer of the services, the air traveller, in order to pay back the Canadian public. To further benefit the Canadian public a whole menu of air fares were developed, however regulated: deep discounts, family fares and charter fares. This allowed Canadians of all walks of life to use the air travel as a means to cross this vast country to meet with loved ones, to bridge regional differences.

Regulations assured again that basic necessities were not compromised, like safe practices and responsible return to the Canadian public. Regulations assured responsibility to workers and consumers, to employers and government representatives, to Canada as a country.

Now, Mr. Axworthy tells us that cutthroat competition as general policy in the airline industry will assure cheaper air fares for all Canadians. His friend, Mr. Max Ward, has publicly stated that he could reduce air fares by 30 per cent. What it actually means to a lot of Canadians is that he will actually increase his air fares by 20 per cent because his charter fares are right now 50 per cent of what the regular air fares are.

Now we can realize our dreams, says Mr. Axworthy, for $50 we can travel by air across Canada. Business people can reduce costs of travel, hence they lower expenses and they realize the return monies will be returned to the public. What a dream!

Cheap air fares, deregulated fares will realize only this: low quality travel; safe practices compromised; cheap unskilled work force. There will be no portability of the airline ticket from one airline to another, hence there will be a disruption for the business traveller. There will be lack of service to remote communities; and, as an end result, higher fares to the travelling public will bring losses. Huge subsidies have to be made by the Canadian public to bail out again the Canadian airline industry. These are some of the reasons we oppose deregulation. We ask for your support for your own benefit to prevent cutthroat competition and juggler type policies. Write to the Minister in Parliament and stop this lunacy.

MR. P. CERILLI (CBRT&GW, Local 340): Dealing with one of the important industries of this country and as member of a transportation union affiliated to this Congress, in order to deal with transportation sensibly we must deal with transportation as a whole. The chickens have now come home to roost because Axworthy has seen fit to start deregulating the industry which binds and holds this country together. There is no need to elaborate on the importance of this industry, be it by water, air, road, or rail. CTC hearings were held across this country to deal specifically with the airlines, which was a camouflage for the simple reason that Mr. Axworthy, like his predecessor Mr. Pépin, made an order to deregulate the air industry even before the CTC had a chance to report their findings and he should be condemned for that. Mr. Pépin was removed from the Ministry of Transport because of the mistake that he made towards announcing the abandonment of passenger train services across this country and we all remember that.

In addition to that, Mr. Axworthy has seen fit to abandon not only the regulations that control this industry, but also to start abandoning other areas that deal with regulations and communications. As spokesperson for the Manitoba Federation of Labour and as the Political Education Chairman — I may say that we presented one of the strongest cases in transportation deregulation — we had a member of the North Dakota Legislative Assembly testify that deregulation in the United States and all of the modes of transportation have simply not worked, and those people that promoted the deregulation of the industry in the United States are now saying that they made a mistake and Mr. Axworthy should take note from that because this, I believe, would have been one of the findings of the CTC Commission.

We are not only dealing with transportation of people and goods, we are talking about the transportation of dangerous goods and commodities. One of these days, a tanker truck will blow in the middle of a community and destroy that community and these are some of the things that are not being exposed. Last year, during the Manitoba hearings, a tanker truck, between here and Ottawa, blew up and melted cars to the ground and killed those people travelling on them. So, these are the dangers we are talking about when we talk about deregulation and these are the types of things that we have to expose to the Canadian public. Mr. Axworthy is hiding behind the fact that he is the Minister of Transport and he can simply give an order-in-council to deregulate the industry before the CTC and the general public of Canada have had an opportunity to put their case forward. He should be chastised by this Congress and by our friends in the House of Commons.

I want to talk about safety for a moment. The United States and England have seen fit to deregulate some of their modes of transportation. Truck drivers in this country are still working over 70 hours a week and they are moving through your community with the goods that I have just mentioned. In the United States and in England, such hours of work have been outlawed; and if you violate the number of hours that you are supposed to drive, you are pulled aside and grounded. In this country, they do not want to touch that. We exposed that in the Manitoba hearings on trucking, and the trucking associations and the Chambers of Commerce and so on attacked us.

Supporters of deregulation are camouflaging the real issues here with lower wages, lower pensions, if any, lower benefits, if any, and there is more to be said on this issue, because when they take away those benefits which we fought for over the years, they are paving the way for future applicants for the welfare system.

MR. W. CLARK (TWU, President): I wish to speak in support of the Statement on Deregulation. The difficulty that we have had so far is that we have not given the public enough accurate information to make decisions on these propositions and I do not think that what we are seeing is an accident. The four or five major transportation companies will stay in business; the four or five monopolies in oil will stay in business; and the same is true for the telecommunications.

On the question of public information, and what we are seeing particularly in the province of British Columbia, is, in trying to get around this argument of competition and deregulation, slogans that are popular in North America. I think we need to pay special attention to deregulation, especially in urban areas as governments are privatizing and deregulating social services.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): Now I want to permit fairly wide-ranging debate on this because there is a lot more to it than just airlines and transport. If you want to spend some time in a deregulated society and suffer the effects of it, just take a vacation in the United States for a couple of weeks. It is devastating, it is going to wreck our lifestyle, even reach to our culture and we really have to zero in on this one.

MR. F. POMEROY (CWC, President): I wanted to talk on the first resolution that is coming up after this, can I pass by?

MR. R. WHITE (UAW, Canadian Director): I think some of us in private sector unions think the whole matter of deregulation as mentioned today is really a matter of the transportation industry or the communications industry and I want to say that this has more far-reaching effects than on the people in the airlines and the railways and the trucking industry in this country. It reaches into all of the questions of labour legislation, of health and safety legislation, it gets to the question of Canadian content and broadcasting and it gets to the whole question of corporate control in our society.

And if you look at where deregulation really started in this world, it started with the Margaret Thatchers, it started with the Ronald Reagans and it is part of the extension of monetarism. It is saying to the people in our society, that you are better off without regulatory systems, you are better off with the corporations determining what the airline routes will be, you are better off with the corporations determining what trading relationships will be, you are better off with the corporations determining what consumers will want and what they do not want and this is the kind of absolute free enterprise system that deregulatory advocates in this country support. And I think the consumers' associations have to be told from this Convention too that they cannot just hold up an opportunity for some lower air fares for people in this country and say that is good and ignore the effect on working people in this country of deregulation.

Let us look at what happened in the airline industry in the United States. The brother from the Machinists' union said literally thousands of workers have been laid off in the airline industry. Flight attendants and pilots in the airline industry are forced to go back to work at almost half their wages and Mr. Max Ward is known in this country as being an advocate of deregulation and Max Ward conducted one of the most vicious strikes against the Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants' Association. This year, Max Ward forced that union to implement a multi-tiered wage system; and that is what deregulation does for us. So those of us in the private sector unions as well have to understand that this has a much more broad-ranging effect than in the transportation industry; and we have to call a conference as quickly as we can. We have to have top-flight leadership from the labour movement and others in our society to get us to clearly understand that we have an enormous education program to do with our membership. Of course, our members say if we can fly for $50 or $100 or cheaper, this is better for us. Our members may say if we get more U.S. television, this is better for us. But this will fundamentally change our whole society; and it does not stop here. I urge all of the delegates to support this statement and make sure, when the conference is called, that we send leaders to that conference and we invite others in the community to reach out and help us stop this insane program of corporate control in our society and tell Mr. Axworthy that as far as we are concerned, you will not be the front for the corporations, if you are, you should not represent people in the Parliament of this country.

MR. M. MERCURE (IAM, Local 1751): I feel that I must speak on this because of the nature of this document on the "New Canadian Air Policy" by the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Transport. You look through this thing here and it sounds very nice. In fact, it is like a fairytale but let us look at what the real world is all about. All we have to do is to look at the U.S. experience: 40,000 airline jobs were lost in the U.S. because of deregulation, eight major carriers went bankrupt, 106 communities lost complete services, 351 communities got severe cuts in services. Concessions were made with no real gains. Another major thing that could probably happen is that we will get fly-by-night operators; smaller airline transportation will come up and operate on shoestring. Operating this way can be dangerous because these companies will try to run their operation the cheapest way possible, at the expense of the passengers and the employees.

Another problem is the job of training maintenance people to work on these aircraft. Many of our trades are very complex trades that need constant retraining; and major airlines are able to do this. If this thing goes through, it will not be to our advantage. I say again, in the real world, deregulation of the air transport is just a start.

In January 1983, with the company that I work for, a layoff of 500 young men occurred. Believe me, I did not like to see the look on their faces. Young people just out of school, real good people were laid off, some with families and these guys come to you and say, "What will I do?" Some of them were on unemployment insurance for a year, some went on to welfare.

I ask you here, please, I implore you, do all that you can to defeat deregulation. I only have six more years to work, God willing, and I do not want to see these young faces again, the look on their faces when they are told they are laid off and if deregulation goes in, that is what is going to happen.

MS. P. NASH (CALEA, Executive): I rise in support of this Committee report. Deregulation, which is often called "liberalization" by a party with a similar name, promises lower prices for the consumers. Well, do not be fooled. In 1978, the Reagan government deregulated the U.S. airline industry. For some time, and for some airlines and on some routes, there were lower air fares but the aim of deregulation is not to benefit consumers. In fact, overall U.S. airfares have risen by 17 per cent and many U.S. communities now have no air service at all. The aim of deregulation is to slash costs for corporations, primarily labour costs. Let me just give you one example.

In 1983, Continental Airlines declared bankruptcy and that is not the same kind of bankruptcy that you and I could declare. It is a kind of bankruptcy that John Mansville declared in the U.S. It is the kind of bankruptcy that says: if I do not plead bankruptcy now, I might become bankrupt in the future, so I will file for bankruptcy now while I still have money left to operate; so that is what the Continental did. They filed for bankruptcy and then they fired all the workers and selectively re-hired those workers who wanted to work or who needed to work for less than 50 per cent of their former wages. With those labour costs, Continental has now set a standard that other airlines in the U.S. are scrambling to imitate. Deregulation has not benefited the consumer in the long run; and the workers have ended up playing the old game of giving back more of their wages to the shareholders.

Now, some claim that the Canadian government will avoid the pitfalls of U.S.-style deregulation. Well, I suggest that you do not hold your breath. Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy has already stated that airline employees have been able to charge too much for their input and Conservative transport critic Don Mazankowski, who advocated deregulation as far back as 1979, recently wrote to Mr. Axworthy praising the entrepreneurial spirit of Eastern Provincial Airlines. Now you may all remember Eastern Provincial Airlines and its distaste for unions.

Deregulation in Canada is designed to have the same impact as deregulation in the U.S. and make no mistake, deregulation is union-busting.

Canadians should not only be opposed to it but also to actively campaign to stop this disease from spreading into Canada.

MR. J. ROSE (CUPE, President): This is an issue whose ramifications are far broader than the transportation industry. Over the last century in Canada, we have painstakingly built a society in which government, acting on behalf of the citizens of Canada, have set minimum standards of behaviour for business. Why did governments bring in these regulations in the first place? Because business, by cutting corners, by taking chances with health and safety, by charging high prices for poor services, proved time and again that they could not be counted on to regulate themselves. They could not be counted on to put the public interest ahead of their own profits. Governments had to step in on behalf of the citizens, to protect the public, to prevent consumers from being gouged, to assure safety and to assure a minimum level of services particularly in the North of our country.

Well, nothing has changed. Left to their own devices, most of these companies would still behave in the same way with profits taking precedence over the public interest. It has already been mentioned what has happened in the United States. Since the airline industry in that country was deregulated, more than 100 communities have been completely cut off from airline service. Another 350 communities get far fewer flights than they did before; and 30,000 to 40,000 airline workers have lost their jobs.

Self-regulation in a complex society simply does not work. There will always be firms that will misbehave, if there is no law to put the public interest ahead of their own selfishness.

As has already been stated, deregulation is yet another aspect of the backward march that the neo-conservative business and political leaders are leading. It is a return to the law of the jungle in the essential services and in consumerism, to less service and to less protection for the public.

My union joins with the other unions here in saying that we must muster our resources and the first step is the conference to oppose this abandonment of the public interest. Our jobs are at stake, yes, but most important of all, we believe, to all Canadians is the principle that firms that serve the public must adhere to rules to protect the public. I hope all the delegates here will endorse this very important policy document so that we can let the Canadian community know that we will go all out to fight this anti-public sector and anti-public trend in our society.

MR. G. McARTHY (UAW, Local 707): Mr. Chairman, I call the question; seconded.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. The question has been moved but you can always vote against it. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed. That is about even and we will go on.

MR. D. LEE (CALEA, Local 102): I stand in full favour of the statement of declaration regarding deregulation, simply because I am in fear of losing my standard of living and most importantly, my job. I have ten years of service within the airline industry, just like many of my fellow workers in the United States have; and they have no immediate possibilities of securing new jobs or their old ones.

I am not just referring to the people in the airline industry but all the people in the trucking, rail, banking, telephone, the transportation and communication industries in general. We worry about stress on the job, what about stress without a job!

Once again, we see the callousness of government and big business for the workers of this country. Deregulation is a sleaziest form of union-busting that I have seen in a long time. Deregulation is not progression but regression. Let us not forget why the trade union movement evolved in the first place. It was for reasons of big business and government trying to exploit and bury the working men and women of this country with the type of laws such as deregulation.

If this Congress wishes to progress and not regress, I would urge them all to endorse this codement unanimously.

MR. L. GRENIER (CALFAA, Local 1): Obviously CALFAA supports the paper that is in front of you and we are asking you to support it unanimously.

What the government is saying, Mr. Axworthy and guys like Mr. Max Ward, is that deregulation means cheaper fares for the travelling passengers. Well, as was said before, do not believe this. I just want to take you back a couple of years when the big oil companies promised the citizens of this country that gas would be cheaper by instituting the self-service gas stations. If you remember at the time the labour movement got up in certain places and said to not believe this. And who was right? Right now, there are no more gas wars, the big companies have survived and they have killed the small companies and we now face a monopoly in that sector. Well, the same thing will happen in other sectors. It will happen in the airlines, the big ones will survive; the small ones will die. And once the big ones have survived, you can say goodbye to your cheap air fares, they will raise the prices like you have never seen them before. At our Convention, two weeks ago, CALFAA passed a motion — and we are coming up in negotiations with Air Canada, CP, Nordair and Air Ontario very shortly — and the motion was to the effect that CALFAA will not give in to the airline companies for the sake of deregulation. I hope that if CALFAA has to walk the line for this, that we will see our brothers and sisters in other sectors respect those lines, because we fear that this is coming up for sure. It is union-busting, as was said previously, this is strictly what it is. You already have a company, called Charter Masters, that has been established to be able to support cheap labour, cheap flight attendants to the airlines. Now, what will deregulation do to the public? The flight attendants know about safety in the airlines and what we need in the airlines is not deregulation, it is more regulation for the safety of passengers.

To show there are American good things, once in a while, one of them is a report in a January issue of *Newsweek* which is titled: "Can we keep the skies safe?" You will be horrified to read what deregulation has done to safety in the United States. We do not want to see deregulation coming back over dead bodies in this country.

MR. R. STEEVES (IAM, Local 764): I would like to bring to everybody's attention, out of the *CP Air News* an item on deregulation. The headline is "Deregulation will be aggressive". The company goes on to say: "We are pleased that the long awaited policy statement has been announced and the company and its employees will now be able to move ahead aggressively in an innovative and new environment". And just how will they do that? A policy paper from the corporate CP desks explains how they will do this: "The only substantial variable cost is labour. We have already plans to improve our labour productivity in the incoming 1984 labour negotiations" the punch line to it all. And we remember who is the father-in-law of CP Investments and CP industries and who looked after as well the 6 and 5 and this is Ian Sinclair and this comes from his area. "A reduction in labour cost must occur or the company operations would have to be substantially reduced together with employment levels, perhaps eventually resulting in bankruptcy. One of the problems anticipated involves Canadian labour laws. History has shown that many efforts to reduce labour costs by Canadian carriers have been overturned by rulings from the Canada Labour Relations Board. Relief from this type of restrictive labour law would be mandatory under deregulation, if carriers are permitted to reduce labour costs; and this is absolutely essential." And this comes from Ian Sinclair and company. So I think everybody has the obligation to their members to understand where the power is coming from on the employer side and what their intent is in the overall and I support this resolution wholeheartedly.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): The question is being called Let me just emphasize one point. Yes, we are concerned because of the effect on our jobs but our major concern, our overall concern, is for our country, everyone in this country, worker, non-worker, unionist. It goes very deep. It is the old monopoly game. They get you in there by the process of seduction with cheaper fares and that sort of thing; and once the monopoly is established and deregulated then they come back to you. But let us emphasize that our major concern is about our society, our lifestyle and all the Canadian people and not just ourselves.

On the matter of closing debate, all those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed.

On the main motion which is one of concurrence, all those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. HUNTER (Transportation and Maritime Committee Chairman): As I said Document 28 was a policy paper brought in by the Executive Council. The Transportation and Maritime Committee also had resolutions in from unions concerning the question of deregulation and, therefore, we are addressing that as well. Turning to Document No. 7, we have brought in a composite resolution to cover Resolutions TM-23, 24, 42, 48 and 49:

> "WHEREAS a fully-integrated transportation system, in which optimum use would be made of the different modes and which would give service priority over profits, is necessary to attain social and economic objectives in the national interest; and
>
> "WHEREAS the right of Canadians to a universally accessible affordable and good quality telephone service must be upheld; and
>
> "WHEREAS regulation is needed to develop and maintain our transportation and communications system in the public interests; and
>
> "WHEREAS deregulation in the United States has spread like a cancer from air transport to rail, bus and truck transport and beyond to the communications industry; and
>
> "WHEREAS this deregulation has resulted in massive layoffs, union-busting, lower incomes and, in many cases, higher rates and poorer service; and
>
> "WHEREAS proponents of deregulation are actively campaigning to take Canada down the same destructive path;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress condemn deregulation in the transportation and communications sectors, publicize its negative effects and demand the promotion of transportation and communications as vital public services; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress will try to enlist support, especially in municipalities across Canada, for its opposition to deregulation in transportation and communications."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence. Seconded by T. Saunders (Committee Secretary).

MR. F. POMEROY (CWC, President): Other speakers have very eloquently outlined how this issue of deregulation is really a major scam and rip-off. It is a union-busting program to get rid of our jobs and to destroy the quality of service in many important industries in this country. But I wanted to wait for this particular resolution because I want to try to focus your mind for a moment on the telephone industry, not because it is more important than any of the other industries that are being impacted by deregulation but because I think it affords us a unique opportunity to get at this deregulation scam and to expose it to the public because many of the negative sides of deregulation will be readily apparent not only to our members, when their jobs are being impacted, but will be readily apparent to consumers as their telephone bills go up. That is not always the case in some of the other industries, where companies are able to offer a select group of people something lower in cost in order to create a rip-off somewhere else. In the telephone industry, it will clearly end up as a major scam against consumers and so we have to be interested both as consumers and as employees.

You may be aware that CN/CP Telecommunications and B.C. Rail have requested the right to provide long distance services in this country and competition with Bell Canada and the other major telephone companies across this country. This fall, the CRTC is going to undertake hearings on whether or not this should be allowed and, at the same time, the federal Department of Communications is doing a study on deregulation and the policies that should prevail. So, it will give us a unique opportunity between now and later this fall to get this issue before the consumers, before the public, and make people aware of how this is really a scam.

We have unique opportunity here to go south of the border and have a look at a country and we find, for example, that since January there have been increases in rates for local telephone service of as high as 74 per cent and predictions are that, over the next three or four years, there is likely going to be something like a 300 per cent increase in local telephone service rates and that customers will be faced with the proposition of paying something like $40 a month for basic telephone service.

If you compare this with the increases that took place when OPEC had an impact on oil prices, the impact on the telecommunications industry is actually greater than the OPEC impact was.

At the same time, service in the United States is deteriorating as the companies use deregulation to skim the cream from the lucrative routes and let service fall by the wayside along on on the other routes that are not as lucrative. In the process, something like 2,000 members of the Communications Workers of America in the United States are losing their jobs every month as a result of deregulation and that same phenomenon is heading for Canada.

It is seductively sold as offering lower rates but we have to look at lower rates for whom? Because it is lower rates for business, not the customers that use local basic service and that is leading to a backlash in the United States, and as a result the telephone companies have a new scam going. They are now onto a thing called "local measured service". "Local measured service" really means that you pay for local calls the same as you do for long distance, on how far you call and for how long you talk and so on; and because you do not get billing except from a computer, which most people do not have on their home phone, you have no way of challenging the bills that you get from the telephone company. So, it ends up being an opportunity for the telephone companies to increase your telephone rates and slide them in a way that you cannot figure out whether it is a rate increase or increased usage of the system or what. In fact, it gives them the opportunity to try and get more money out of their existing customers, rather than expanding the service and making it universal for everyone.

When you came in this morning, you received a brochure which has inside a tear-off section to send to Francis Fox. We would really appreciate if you could tear that off and fill it out and send it in to Francis Fox, Minister of Communications. I think we have to get a multi-union campaign going from coast to coast to end this scam and I urge your support for this resolution.

MR. J. KINKAID (CWC, Local 81): Ever since 1980 and the advent of a more liberal attitude towards the connecting of terminal equipment and, in fact, even long before that, unions in the telephone industry have been fighting tooth and nail to put a stop to any further erosion of regulations in the telepone industry. Our fight is directed towards the maintaining and improvement of a strictly-regulated and universal telephone service, which, in our eyes, is the only kind capable of ensuring the socially-oriented and equitable development we wish to have in communications. As a matter of fact, unions in the telephone industry believe in and have often demanded the establishment of state-controlled telephone corporations as is the case in the Western provinces. However, it does not seem that this is to materialize in the near future. Therefore, we must, at the very least, make sure that strict regulations are maintained in this sector so vital to our development.

With the advent of new technology in communications and the opening of new fields in computer science, we are presently witnessing the merging of sectors earmarked to play an ever increasing and, in many aspects, determining role in the social and economic development of our society. But, concurrently to the great strides being made in those sectors, we are also witnessing well-orchestrated attempts on the part of the telephone industry, namely Bell Canada, B.C. Telephone, and CN/CP Telecommunications, to evade regulations, and initiate a telecommunication system solely and ultimately based on profit. Progressive deregulation is what CN/CP is aiming at with its request for competitive long distance services presently before the CRTC. Should the CRTC allow competition, we would very rapidly have here a repeat of the scenario actually playing in the States. Since the Federal Communication Commission's decision, the situation is so chaotic in that country that the worst predictions are becoming a fact.

A mere few months after the dismantling of AT&T, we can already witness 74 per cent rate increases in certain states and predictions are that the rates will double over the next three years; and even triple for telephone customers in distant and rural areas. What is happening in the United States and risks to happen here, if we do not successfully put a stop to telephone deregulation, is the downright dropping of the principle of universality for telephone service. Because of their blind faith in the merits of competition, American regulatory agencies have allowed the dropping of price determination principles and mechanisms which maintain local service costs at reasonable levels. In fact, in the United States, interconnectors and large companies are allowed to make profits by taking the most lucrative part of long distance service, draining by the same token sources of self-financing and grants that help maintain local service rates.

Other price determination principles presently considered as established, such as uniform rates and the industry's obligation to supply telephone service, will also be affected. In their stead, we will witness the establishment of telephone service no longer based on quality but on actual cost. For the individual living in a sparsely populated or distant area, rates for local calls are bound to soon become prohibitive. In fact, by allowing competition and deregulation in long distance service, we are speaking of reallocating, as Francis Fox stated before the Macdonald Commission, billions of dollars into the pockets of the big long distance customers, namely the large corporations, while home users will have to pay the difference. Moreover, in order to meet the competition, telephone companies are contemplating the implementation of what they call "local measured service," whereby local service customers will have to pay for each call they make according to the length of time of each call, the distance called within the locality, as well as the hour and even the day the call is made. This is literally the conversion of a utility system into a pay-phone system. This would constitute without doubt one of the most repressive and alienating social measures ever to be imagined by the communications industry.

MR. D. SANGSTER (NUPGE-OPSEU, Local 526): I have a question for the Chairman or anyone who may answer it. If we, the members of the Convention, should fill out these forms regarding the telephone company, and I think we should all do that and send them in, my question is: Am I right in assuming that we do not have to put postage on it? It is going to Francis Fox, can we just put it in an envelope and address it to him and send it that way?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): I do not know. Where is Mr. Pomeroy? No postage!

MR. D. SANGSTER (NUPGE-OPSEW, Local 526): No postage, thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): All right. Are you ready to vote? On the motion of concurrence, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. HUNTER (Transportation and Maritime Committee Chairman): The next matter which the Committee will be dealing with is also an important one in the maritime industry. It is a composite resolution, Document No. 7, dealing with TM-2, 12, 15, 16, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 31, 44, 45.

> "WHEREAS the absence of a Canadian deep-sea fleet leaves this country dangerously dependent on foreign ships for our large import and export trade; and
>
> "WHEREAS upwards of two hundred flag-of-convenience vessels are beneficially owned by Canadian interests; and
>
> "WHEREAS a Canadian Merchant Marine would provide job opportunities, increase trade, improve our balance of payments, develop spin-off enterprises, reduce our dependency on foreign ships and raise our national prestige in the world; and
>
> "WHEREAS the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) with its recommended 40-40-20 formula for shipping policy could be used as a basis for a Canadian Merchant Marine fleet as found in other maritime nations; and
>
> "WHEREAS vessels used in commercial activities, such as dredging and resource exploration and development, within Canadian waters should be manned by Canadians;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the federal government recognize shipping as an integral part of a national transportation system by implementing its own Ministry of Transport recommendation that all shipping between Canadian ports be done by Canadian crews sailing Canadian ships; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress demand that the federal government institute a program of repatriation of all Canadian flag-of-convenience vessels to be crewed by Canadians; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that ship repairs and the building of new and replacement vessels be carried out in Canadian shipyards; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress renew its demand for the re-establishment of a Canadian Merchant Marine, with ships built in Canada and manned by Canadian crews; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the UNCTAD 40-40-20 formula be adopted as a basis for re-establishing a Canadian Merchant Marine; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that vessels used in offshore operations be manned by Canadian crews."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence; seconded by T. Saunders (Committee Secretary).

MR. J. BELL (N.S. Federation of Labour): I speak on behalf and in support of the resolution. I speak in support of reviving an industry that has been deregulated, destructured and destabilized. Our members, many of whom have not worked since 1978, are very frustrated. They go around humming that song that Paul Robson used to sing, "Sometimes I feel like a motherless child." We even feel like foster children even here in Congress because we do not even warrant a policy paper. Somehow or other, we hope to reach that status because our industry is the industry that started this country, believe it or not. People in Ontario, people out West, you owe it to the marine and shipbuilding industry, the fleets of ships that regulated commerce and transport into Canada, way back in the last two centuries that built this country up and, because of private selfish interests, that industry was allowed to go down the drain. It is not the fact that we are not economical, it is not the fact that we cannot compete. We can build ships, third generation container vessels, the railroad type, that can compete with those that enter the ports of Canada and they are economical to operate but what we have in Ottawa is a group of bureaucrats whose economics on shipbuilding are those of the ancient mariner. They still think of the Canadian merchant services as the old country vessels, the old CGM vessels and the old lady boats and they see that that is the economics of shipping where the whole technology and economics are completely different today.

I think that when we look at shipping and shipbuilding, we should look at it against the backdrop of what we now pay on the whole question of services to foreign shipping. Let us enumerate them. First of all, we have the navigation, we have a navy, we have search and rescue airplanes, we paid a couple of billion dollars to the Americans to fly them out and make sure that the vessels are safe out there in the Atlantic. We have the seaway, we have ice-breaking service, we have National Harbour Board services. All that costs money to the Canadian public.

Tie in a Canadian Merchant Marine against that whole background of a transportation policy and that is what we want. We want a national transportation policy that starts from the West to take our wheat, starts in the middle of Canada to take our manufactured goods to distant parts of the world. Is it not reasonable that a country that depends on one-third of its revenue on its international trade should have its own carrier of goods to the far distant corners of the world? How are we going to trade with the Third World countries, are we going to leave it to the Americans or to some other part of the world because they are the owners of the vessels, regardless of where the vessels are registered, because that is just a camouflage. The flags-of-convenience are the flags of profit, they represent nothing. They are not flags of nationality, they are the flags of profit and I say to you that Lionel Chevrier sold out the port vessels to all the Canadian vessels' owners, who in turn sold them in foreign countries, set up dummy companies to operate those vessels and then abandoned the whole concept of the Canadian Merchant Marine.

The previous resolution talking about deregulation, well who is the greatest advocate of deregulation today? Ian Sinclair. Who does he represent? The CPR. You know that fellow that gets over half a million dollars a year and he advises Trudeau that we have the six and five. Tie it altogether, where does he register the CPR vessels? In Hong Kong, Bermuda, countries where there is no income tax and where there is no safety inspection, where the vessels can operate at will. Now it is time that we are national and I say to you that the Auto Workers, the Mine Workers, the manufacturers of Ontario need a shipbuilding industry just as much as we do and let me prove it to you. When we build a ship, we take the goods of every mine and mill for every worker that works in the shipyard, we employ the services of our people, our electronics, our engines, our machinery all the geared equipment, where do they come from? Central Canada and you people in Central Canada have to support us in an industry that is just as vital to you as it is to us if you know where your bread and butter is.

MR. G. MOWATT (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 304): I would like to move referral with instructions. Unfortunately, or I should say fortunately, we have many vessels in British Columbia that are sailing at this very moment with crews. . .

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): No, no, you just make your referral motion and give the instruction and we will vote on that.

MR. G. MOWATT (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 304): Thank you. In Resolutions 4 and 6 in lieu of what the discussions on yesterday and in the spirit of the Convention, I find difficult that the Committee would put on the floor Resolutions 4 and 6 with reference to manning the ships. I believe it should be crewed. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You are on the wrong motion, wrong resolution. We are not on 46.

MR. G. MOWATT (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 304): I believe we are on Resolutions TM-2, TM-12 and all, and under that those resolutions under the Resolved 4 and 6 are references to manning the vessels and that should be changed to crew, I believe.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Oh, I see what you mean. All right. Chairman of the Committee.

MR. J. HUNTER (Transportation and Maritime Committee Chairman): We do not have a problem with that. You will notice that we are also saying that we have concurrence in Resolution 46 but anyway, we do not have a problem with that.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The Chairman of the Committee says they will make the necessary semantic accommodation; no need to refer.

MR. J. FITZPATRICK (Shipyard General Workers Federation of B.C., President): The industry in the West Coast of Canada is in a desperate state, we have over 85 per cent of our people unemployed. The prospects for these guys to come back to work is very bleak indeed. In the meantime, we see vessels coming into Canada on long-term charter through the oil companies, they are coming in for next to nothing. They are paying one hundred and twentieth of the total cost of the vessel and that amounts to nothing. Our guys are hurting on the Coast and the same is true for the East Coast shipyards too.

Before Parliament now, there is a Bill C-16 that would put an end to that nonsense. Bill C-16 would put a duty of 25 per cent of the cost of one of these oil rates on our vessels, tugs, barges, dredges, etc., that are being built offshore and coming to work here with foreign crews. Also Mr. Axworthy has set up a task force on a long term deal, to set up a Canadian Merchant Marine. That task force is made up of some of the people that sank our Canadian Merchant Marine: J.V. Klyne the Chancellor of the University of British Columbia, Supreme Court Justice, Chairman of the Board of MacMillan Bloedel. He was the character that scuttled the fleet after the war, he was the Liberal Government Minister of the Maritime Affairs; he sold the fleet to MacMillan Bloedel; MacMillan Bloedel then sold it to the flags-of-convenience. He is sitting on that task force. The shipyard workers in B.C., on an information picket line, learned about the building for MacMillan Bloedel of three boat carriers to move their log and lumber products from the B.C. Coast to Europe. These vessels are being built in South Korea and Japan. Meantime, our workers are starving on the Coast. This situation is unacceptable to us, so I urge the delegates here to vote for this resolution and help the shipyard workers and the maritime unions across Canada.

MR. D. CRAIN (CBRT & GW, Local 400): I rise in support of the resolution, but I am a little critical that there is not a policy paper on the question of the merchant fleet shipbuilding in this country and I think it is a very important industry. We have not seen too much of the merchant fleet since 1949. It was scuttled by J.V. Klyne at that particular time, he was one of the architects. He was put up by Lloyd Axworthy on a task force with 14 people on April 18. There are two trade unionists on that task force. They will study — and I think it has been studied in depth over a number of years — the question of the merchant fleet in this country.

We were quite happy with the Darling Report. It is still sitting on the shelf somewhere in Ottawa, but it is interesting to note that last week in a Vancouver paper, there is a committee that has been struck, and they call themselves the Exporters' Coalition on Canadian Maritime policy. They are the same group of people that were also on the question of the coalition on Canada's rail crisis. These are people that represent the forest industry, mining and the grain industries in this country. These are the same people that are going to be in Ottawa on June 8, lobbying against the question of Canadian Merchant Fleet, the question of shipbuilding in this country, and the question of flags-of-convenience.

There are at least 200 ships, deep sea vessels, that are owned beneficially in this country and the biggest owner, our good dear friends, CP. They have upwards of 32 vessels that are running around with flags-of-convenience at the tail end of those vessels. They use crews from Sri Lanka, India, Philippines, you name it. They pay those workers anywhere from $150 to $250 a month. If you think piracy is dead in the marine industry, think again, because I go aboard those vessels and I see those conditions and I see the way those people are treated. It is common knowledge that they carry two sets of books, one is for the inspector; and if the inspector is not smart enough to go and talk to the crew, everything looks fine. But when you go down you will find out that it is not fine; two sets of books. If that is not piracy, I do not know what it could be called. But I just want to finish by saying this. I think it is high time that the lumber barons, the coal barons and the grain barons in this country start shipping on Canadian bottoms with Canadian crews. Workers in this country, when they produce something and it comes off the line, they figure that is the end of it. Perhaps brothers and sisters who are in mining and coal industries, lumber industries, could get a clause in their collective agreements, suggesting and telling those people that we want these goods shipped in Canadian ships, crewed by Canadians and built by Canadian shipbuilders.

MR. P. STIER (CALFAA, Secretary-Treasurer): Our union is in support of this resolution. Flag-of-convenience shipping has been about for quite a while but here in Canada, we are starting some kind of a flag-of-convenience flying in the very near future unless we can reduce or eliminate corporations like what we call rent-stewardess or rent-flight organizations. What does flag-of-convenience flying mean to us? It means that foreign crews would be on Canadian aircraft operating on a Canadian licence under standards which may be from a different country. We are talking standards of safety, safety training and we have been advocating this through the International Transport Workers' Federation. We hear day to day where violations of standards have been brought about; not just to be resolved by the ITF at the Vancouver Harbour or Montreal Harbour. Now there is the International Civil Aviation Organization for international standards in aviation. No country has to follow any of the ICAO standards unless they have signed the standards. So, as long as we have Canadian standards, it makes it only logic to operate Canadian vessels, if it is by air or by ship, with Canadian crews and by Canadians, under a Canadian licence and with Canadian standards.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right, are you ready to vote? Question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed.

On the main motion of concurrence, all those in favour, please raise your right hand. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

ADDRESS BY LYNN WILLIAMS

Fraternal Delegate from the AFL-CIO

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I guess it is a historic moment because it is the first time in my memory that the fraternal delegate from the AFL-CIO happens to be one of us, a Canadian and the recently elected International President of the United Steelworkers, Lynn Williams.

Lynn was the Director of District 6 here in Canada, a member of our Executive Council. He and I go back a long time, back to the 1940s and the early 1950s when Lynn was one of the principal organizers of Local 1000 — the old Eaton's drive, that after all this time, is finally getting to fulfillment. He is a member of Steelworkers' Local 2900 in Toronto and that is the Inglis plant just around the corner from my local union 439 of the UAW and the Massey-Ferguson plant and we used to drink in the Palace Hotel after work every day! The beer was 10 cents a glass, do you believe it? He is a social democrat, has been all of his entire life, he and I were likewise campaign managers, organizers, door-knockers for the old CCF when he was the campaign manager for Charlie Millard, our dear departed brother from the Steelworkers. I was campaign manager for a woman by the name of Jane Prowser and I do not know whatever happened to her. She did not get elected.

So Lynn is a friend and a member of our family and all of us watched that election that went on recently with a great deal of intense interest because it really did turn into a very bad, unproductive mud-slinging campaign and the whole concept of international unionism, I think, was at stake. I pay tribute not only to Lynn Williams but to all those good people in the United Steelworkers of America that acted by the dictates of common sense; elected a decent man, a member of our family, a fellow Canuck. I am very proud and very honoured to introduce Lynn Williams to you.

MR. L. WILLIAMS (Fraternal delegate, AFL-CIO): Thank you. President McDermott and members of the Executive Council, and delegates to this great Convention. Thank you very much, Dennis for your very warm words of welcome and reminiscence. I am not sure I approve of your telling all these people how far back we go but I guess that is all right because they were great days and they have been great years all the time in-between.

I would like, of course, to thank that great delegation of Steelworkers over there at the end of the hall for all the magnificent support they gave me during the recent campaign to which Dennis referred. I would like to say to all of you how touched I have been by the fact that friends, old and new, across the Canadian labour movement, in union after union, have, during the campaign, expressed their interest to me and their support, have written me and telegraphed and telephoned me and communicated in a great many ways. I must apologize. I received so many greetings from so many places, I really have not had a chance to respond but I do in this public way want to thank all of you for your support and your encouragement. Certainly it is not an easy time and I will have a little more to say about that in a minute. But if we can do things together as we have done in our union and in the labour movement, even in times of adversity, I think really we can then accomplish the kind of goals about which we are all concerned. As all the delegates here assembled, at this most impressive parliament of the labour movement in Canada appreciate, this is a moment for me of great excitement and high emotion, about the labour movement, about our accomplishments, our failures, our challenges and about what a privilege it has been and it is to be involved in this movement right up to the arm pits, right up to the neck, right up to the nose; some might say right over my head. Although I have welcomed the opportunity to visit each Congress Convention in recent years, I have not had an occasion to speak to a Convention since I did as a member of the Executive Council at the 1976 convention in Quebec City.

I am not certain that today I wish to refer you back or refresh your memories about most of my involvement at that time, to the extent that the problems we faced then in terms of the Constitution and Structure and such matters may have relevance today, they are, thank God, the responsibility of others to grapple with and I give John Fryer and his colleagues my blessing in all the things they are attempting to do.

I am, at the same time, more pleased than I can express, not only to have an opportunity to say a few words today, but to do so as the fraternal delegate of the AFL-CIO. When President Lane Kirkland asked me to accept that responsibility, you can imagine the immediacy and the enthusiasm of my response. My enthusiasm arises both from the opportunity which has been provided to visit all the new friends and to share in this fraternal way in the proceedings of the Congress, as well as for the opportunity this occasion provides, to report to you about the renewed spirit of courage and determination with which the AFL-CIO is imbued. These have not been easy times for the labour movement. We have been beset on every side with the toughest kind of problems and challenges. Not only has economic depression brought misery and disaster to thousands upon thousands of working people, it has also provided our enemies with opportunities to attack, to attempt to discredit and destroy what our movement has built by many years of sacrifice and struggle.

Dennis and his colleagues in the Congress, the provincial federations, the affiliates, everyone from one end of Canada to the other, as the continuing crises have required, have stood out as beacons of leadership — a leadership of imagination and innovation, where possible, of defiance where necessary. As leaders of the labour movement, you have been doing everything you could, intelligently and effectively in this terrible period we are living through and with which we are doing our damndest to cope. Let us be thankful we have had the labour movement during this period. Can you imagine what would have happened to working people in Canada, in the United States, in Europe, wherever, had we not had an organized labour movement? We need only look for comparison to the circumstances of working people in those places in the world in which they have no effective institutions of their own by means of which they can at least attempt to cope.

I want to mention, but not to dwell on, the problems of my own union during this period. During the past four years, our dues-paying membership has fallen from 190,000 down to 125,000 and then back up to 154,000, thanks particularly to some very vigourous organizing activity in District 5 in Eastern Canada, and in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces, in Canada. Our U.S. membership for the same period has dropped from about a million to 585,000. In the basic steel industry within the United States, nearly 216,000 steelworkers, or 46 per cent of the total employed in 1977, have lost their jobs.

All of this is a direct reflection of the destruction of our industrial society. There are, of course, many elements in this destruction: economic depression, technological change, international trade and the continuing internationalization of the world economy. Some of these elements should be agents of progress rather than of destruction but in the existing circumstances with the kind of programs, which labour movements have been proposing in country after country, absent, the present reality is one of far too much destruction and far too little progress. Technological improvement should bring wealth and opportunity to our entire societies. In our circumstances, it much too often brings misery and unemployment and contributes to the polarization of society between — the "haves" and the "have nots". Those who have jobs and those who have not, those who move into the economic elite on the waves of change and those who are drowned by the undertow.

International trade in its theoretical construction should be a boom to mankind but I would remind you that, twice in this century, the world has been engulfed in almost total conflagrations and fundamental to each explosion were difficulties over trade. In a world in which technology is totally mobile, in which labour is open to exploitation in a host of totalitarian and near-totalitarian societies, in a world in which both the multinational corporations and the international investment community play the entire world game according to their own perceptions of their own best interests, in a world such as this, there are no easy answers. In this kind of world neither unfettered free trade — let anybody sell anything they can anywhere for any price — nor the denial of trade make any sense.

What we need to do is to set about learning how to manage trade in ways which are in the best interests of all concerned. We have some examples out there to guide us, not perfect but instructive. The Auto Pact between Canada and the United States is one, the multi-fiber agreement involving 52 countries, which has been in effect since the early 1960s, is another.

It is time for pursuing imaginative solutions, not for merely mouthing ideological slogans. This thought about ideological slogans probably comes from living in the United States. If there ever was a President of the United States who specializes in slogans, it is our cowboy incumbent: supply side, trickle down, get the government off our backs, this "Hollywood ham" who has been called the "teflon president" is No. 1 on the AFL-CIO agenda. That time is now to get rid of Ronald Reagan. We must win the election, this November, of Walter Mondale to the presidency of the United States. There is an unprecedented mood of solidarity in the American labour movement in support of this goal. What we do in the AFL-CLO to accomplish an election victory for our candidate Walter Mondale will, because everyone's economies and political fortunes are so closely intertwined, contribute to a brighter and a safer future for workers everywhere in the world.

For three years, we have watched the Reagan administration systematically reverse the principle of equality in America. We have seen this administration shut out vast numbers of American workers as unworthy of the concern of their government. We have seen public resources turn to private ends on behalf of the narrowest and wealthiest segment of the population. It is to the world of work and trade unionism that Ronald Reagan's administration has done the worst damage, a minimum of 30 million American families have been injured by unemployment that could have been prevented and should have been combatted by a responsible government; 23 million men and women in the United States were without jobs at some time during 1981, 27 million in 1982 and that many again in 1983 and there are other costs as well. Nearly 11 million families have lost their health insurance coverage; 494,000 families have lost their homes through mortgage foreclosure. Nearly 73,000 small businesses have been forced into bankruptcy. Tens of thousands of farm families have been driven from the land they tilled for generations. The beneficiaries have been rich corporations, foreign and domestic, that are rapidly consolidating control of the nation's food supply exactly as they are dominating energy supplies.

Despite more than a year of so-called recovery in the business world in which we have seen some corporate profit — setting records and some executive salaries and bonuses at scandalous levels, recovery in the United States is not even in sight for the 9,000,000 who are still counted as unemployed. At least another 6,000,000 have exhausted their jobless benefits and are considered too discouraged to find work or are underemployed in part-time jobs. America's working people want opportunities for progress for themselves and their children. They want jobs in a healthy economy as well as fairness in the distribution of income and social benefits. They want jobs that insure decent family living standards in an expanding economy. They want to reconstruct the nation's public infrastructure that stimulate job-creating investment and economic activity. They want a national industrial policy aimed at modernizing and revitalizing American industry. The Reagan administration seems to be saying that discrimination is not a matter of great concern to the Government of the United States. To Reagan the notion that all men are created equal seems undesirable, but the idea that women have a claim to equality is one that he appears to find intolerable. Of the 20 lowest paid occupations in America, 18 are overwhelmingly female. Women are the fastest growing poverty group in America and we, as leaders in the labour movement, are determined to do something about it.

To achieve these goals, America's working people are prepared to do their part and pay their fair share. However, these goals cannot be achieved until the grip of Reaganomics is broken. It was eight months ago that the AFL-CIO General Board showed great political courage and took action in support of Lane Kirkland and their Executive Council in endorsing Walter Mondale as the Democratic candidate for President. This is the first time in the history of the American labour movement that a national endorsement action has been taken in advance of the nation's primary election procedures in all of its states. This is a decision which I believe will go down in history as a watershed in the development of the labour movement in the United States. As a leader of the United Steelworkers, I was proud to represent our union in support of the Mondale endorsement in the debate before the AFL-CIO's General Board Meeting last October.

In Walter Mondale, we have a candidate with a strong allegiance to the goals of working people. Mondale stands for a full employment law to ensure jobs for all who want to work. He is the candidate that wants a program to revive declining basic industries on which millions of jobs and the nation's economic strength depend. Mr. Mondale wants to see the schools upgraded and adequate financial support available to provide educational opportunities for the qualified children of workers and the needy. Mr. Mondale wants better human rights, equal rights for women and minorities in all aspects of economic and political life. Mr. Mondale wants tax law changes to make corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share as workers always have. We believe that Mr. Mondale is going to win the Democratic Party endorsement for President at the party's national convention in July and we believe that, once that is accomplished, America's working people and a multitude of other Americans who have been hurt or dismayed or both, by Reagan's policies will elect Mr. Mondale as the next President of the United States.

Most of our Canadian brothers and sisters are happy as I am that, since you last received fraternal remarks by my predecessor and good friend, the late Lloyd McBride, the organized labour movement in the United States has truly entered the mainstream of the world labour movement under the stewardship of AFL-CIO President Kirkland. There was a difficult period in the 1970s and early 1980s, in which the AFL-CIO determined that some of the policies of both the ILO and the ICFTU were inconsistent with those of the AFL-CIO and withheld their support. Happily in both instances, the situations have been clarified and I have personally been delighted that the AFL-CIO has again affiliated with the ICFTU and that its delegates are again being seated at sessions of the ILO.

As do many of the affiliates in this Congress, the major industrial unions in the United States have continued to maintain their affiliation with the international secretariates such as the International Metalworkers' Federation. Through close liaison with federations such as the IMF, we have inter-related with historic developments in Europe, Japan and the Third World. Many of you know that today, our German brothers and sisters in IG Metall are engaged in bargaining and in some strike actions in their drive to achieve a 35-hour week, a development which many of us believe must come to the North American continent as well.

One of many new frontier endeavours by the AFL-CIO is the commitment it is making to have the voice of labour heard on television. It has established a Labour Institute of Public Affairs to give the labour movement a permanent, consistent visible and effective voice in the electronic media. The Labour Institute of Public Affairs is attempting to provide the American labour movement with a modern means of communicating the message of trade unionism. The television production arm of the AFL-CIO has made a number of new programs, shown on commercial television over the past year, that tell the union story about workers and their unions. In addition, they have experimented with a ten-week daily labour affairs cable program in three American cities, which is currently being evaluated to decide whether a national cable program would regularly be watched by a large television audience.

In these few examples of current political international and institutional initiatives of the AFL-CIO, there is a message to those of us committed to our cause. The size of today's challenges are matched by the scale of the opportunity and we have in our hands, by the very scope and nature of the crises we face, one of those very rare opportunities to make a real difference in the shape of things to come for future generations. I believe that the members of the Congress here today and those you represent and the members of the AFL-CIO are equal to that challenge. Our members understand the need for unity as they have not for many years and I feel the spirit of solidarity surging in our ranks. That is the real source of our strength and of our confidence that whatever the odds, we shall overcome. (Standing ovation)

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I want to say to Lynn, because we can be candid about this, that when this Congress is in session and in many of our day-to-day activities, we are acutely aware of the economic domination of this country by forces in the United States. We do not like Ronald Reagan; we did not like Richard Nixon. There are many things that emanate from that country that cause an instinctive anti-Americanism among us, understandable, logical. I have said it before and let me say it again. Yes, we are anti-Reagan, yes we are many anti-American; we are not now and we will never be anti-American worker.

Let me at this point in time call on the Committee on Health and Safety.

OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY COMMITTEE

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): The first group of resolutions are on Part IV of the Canada Labour Code.

MR. R. BERCIER (Member of Committee on Occupational Health and Safety):

"WHEREAS the Federal Safety Code has been under question by the Canadian Labour Congress and a large number of unions who have members under federal jurisdiction; and

"WHEREAS, for example, medical, technical engineering and inspection services are scattered through 15 federal departments and agencies; and

"WHEREAS the CLC has made 30 recommendations to the federal government and a bill relating to same had been promised in late 1981 and as yet no bill has been presented to the House of Commons;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention give support to this campaign by the unions under federal jurisdiction and that the Canadian Labour Congress petition the federal government to have this bill brought forward forthwith and, if not inclined to do so, that said lack of interest by the federal government be publicized."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move the recommendation of the Committee of concurrence, seconded by Verna Ledger, Committee Secretary.

MR. R. MERCIER (CLC Executive Vice-President): I want to tell the delegates where the danger lies. For a number of years now, the CLC has been making representations to the government about amending Part IV of the Canada Labour Code. This being a pre-election period, the federal government has, of course, agreed to make changes to the Labour Code, particularly Part IV. More than ever, it is time to have health and safety committees obligatory at the workplace. It is also time that all union members under the jurisdiction of this federal law be given the right to refuse dangerous work. It is equally normal, for it is their right, that all members be protected, whatever ministry these men and women are working for. The federal government appears to be in favour of making amendments. However, we believe this to be part of electoral tactics. We must not play the politicians' game. If the government is serious, it must amend the Labour Code, and particularly Part IV, before the House of Commons adjourns this summer. Otherwise, politicians will use this as part of their vote-catching manoeuvres and, once again, workers will pay for the damage because, once the election is over, health and safety will no longer be a priority in the House of Commons. Once more, we will have to wait another four or five years before amendments are brought to Part IV of the Labour Code.

Of course, we have already started to put pressure on the federal government to get this legislation passed as soon as possible, even though we know for a fact that the requested amendments do not figure among the priorities of the House. If we want to prevent the government from unduly making fun of our members, men and women, we must make it our business to force the government into passing this law immediately, by demanding a response from the government before the end of the week, before the close of this Convention. To get such a response before the Convention ends, delegates also must put pressure on the federal government. We will probably send a telegram to the government asking for an official statement about its actual intentions concerning the amendments to Part IV of the Canadda Labour Code concerning health and safety. But this telegram must not be sent only by officers and those deeply affected by Part IV. I urge you to let the government know right away, today, that, as delegates to this Convention, you are determined to have Part IV of the Labour Code amended concerning health and safety. It is far better to have amendments to our liking; we must keep on fighting for a more equitable Labour Code for the men and women falling under federal jurisdiction.

MS. C. BAIRD (CUPE, Local 771): I rise in strong support of the Health and Safety Committee. We only have one precious life and most of us are entitled to our three score years and ten but many people in this room will not reach that three score years and ten. After working all their lives, they will not reach pension age, because they are doing work that is dangerous to their health. And I say to you that we all have the right to know what toxic substances are in our workplace and we have the right to refuse dangerous work. Up until two or three years ago, I had almost perfect health but I am a trainer on the video terminals, that is my job. I developed a large malignant tumour which was removed three months ago.

There is a lot of talk about pregnant women in video terminals. If something is bad for the foetus, it is bad for all of us. Men and women who work on the video terminals are exposed to radiation, the effects of which are not known. I urge you all to take a real interest in your health and safety committees, to negotiate contracts. At present, our management has not seen fit to spend the sum of money needed to give us safety screens on our terminals. As you know, we public sector workers find it very difficult to get anything just now, because we have been under the restraint program. So, I urge you all, please take an interest in your one precious life, live and get your pension, you deserve it!

MS. D. MORTON (PSAC, Agriculture Component, Local 30023): This resolution must be passed before the adjournment of the House of Commons so that all public service employees can come under Part IV of the Canada Labour Code to cover health and safety.

MR. D. CURRIE (UE, Local 504): I honestly believe that the Safety and Health Committees should have the right to close all jobs, not only the jobs that are an imminent danger to health but also any job that is a threat to the collective health. Inspectors come into our shops and they do not do enough for the workers and in fact, as far as I am concerned, it is more for the bosses.

In Ontario, one of the things that is very disgusting to me is the Workmen's Compensation Board advertisement on asbestos. When you first see it, it really hits home. It shows a man who is dying of asbestosis and it is quite upsetting. But the thing that upsets me more is when you turn around and at the end of this, you see something that says: "asbestos can be worked with safely". I say to you that is wrong. The only safety in working with asbestos is working with no asbestos at all. I think it is very important that the Congress and also all unions and delegates push this on the floor and object to it and write and complain to the Workmen's Compensation Board on this.

Doctors do not get enough training in occupational safety and health; all they get is two hours out of five years and they do not even sit in on that because it is up before the biggest exam — medical history — and they study that rather than occupational safety and health. I think that is wrong.

I believe we should all push strongly to have the safety and health courses activated more strongly in our shops.

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): I would like to draw your attention to this resolution for the simple fact that the majority of delegates sitting on this Convention floor are covered by a lot of different pieces of legislation. There still are a number of public sector workers out there that are not covered by any legislation and I think if you have heard Brother Mercier's comments, you will understand how important it is that this Congress take a position with the government, so that they will stop playing politics with people that do not have the right to say anything regarding health protection which a lot of us have already.

Delegates here should realize that we have a predicament that the federal government is trying to pull a snow job on us prior to an election, on these recommended changes to Part IV of the Canada Labour Code. This Congress Convention has to take a position that will toughen up the Labour Code and Part IV in particular.

MS. S. CARR (CLC, Executive Vice-President): I would like to make some comments about what is proposed in the amendments to the Canada Labour Code as far as the safety and health section is concerned. And I certainly support the things said by Brother Mercier who chairs the standing committee of the Canadian Labour Congress on safety and health. This Committee has done a tremendous job, over the last few months particularly, and certainly over the last few years.

It is very sad that we had to wait for so long for a complete rewrite of this particular section of the Canada Labour Code. As a result of the complete rewrite, we have been able to obtain certain things which we think are sufficient to put the pressure on the federal government to get it into the House of Commons so that it can in fact be adopted before Parliament adjourns. It was also too bad that we had to wait so long and we had to see some deaths take place on the offshore drilling rig and also the ship that went down in the St. Lawrence River. It was only because of those disgraceful happenings that embarrassed the federal government to get moving.

Brother Mercier also indicated the whole question of the protection of those who are employed by the federal government. Now, it is proposed to amend Part IV so as to make it apply notwithstanding anything in any other act of Parliament, thereby consolidating the regulatory authority over occupational safety and health in respect of employment in any federal work, undertaking, business or corporation in respect of which the Parliament has the authority to legislate in the Canada Labour Code.

The employer/employee responsibilities are also outlined in there very, very clearly and what they have to do. There is a new definition of employer, which has been expanded to eliminate any ambiguity concerning the responsibility that contractors who operate a federal business on behalf of an owner of that business, and to include employees who act on behalf of an employer. It goes on to indicate that the amendment includes the right to refuse work. The new proposals would give an employee the right to refuse to work in situations where he or she has reasonable cause to believe that a condition exists or that the use or operation of a machine would constitute a danger to his or her safety or health or to that of another employee. That has been a major change.

Safety and Health Committees, of course, are included; an advisory council is included. The standing committee of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Executive Council have been lobbying and, I do not mind telling you we have been lobbying every Member of Parliament of every party, because this is so significantly important. We have lobbied across this nation to try and insist that the MPs in the House of Commons get this on the order paper and get it through the House before it adjourns this session.

Today, we will also send telegrams, in addition to the letters we have already sent, pleading to get this thing into the House. I would like to see this resolution adopted and from there, we will send the message to the House of Commons, to the Prime Minister of this country, because it is the safety and health of all the people in this nation that we are trying to protect.

MR. J.-C. PARROT (CUPW, President): I am in favour of the Committee's recommendation. The proposed amendments are extremely important, although incomplete. Among other things, we must make sure that the Canada Labour Code, particularly Part IV, will give protection to a large number of workers across the land not actually covered by the Code.

During recent negotiations, we were able to get from the federal government a clause in our collective agreement providing for the right to refuse without any reference to imminent danger. This is contained in our recommendations for amendments to the Code. It is unbelievable the difference it makes to a group of workers to be able to refuse work without having to take into consideration the definition of imminent danger! We have not yet lost any of the cases where our members had to resort to the right to refuse. This amendment to the Labour Code is certainly one of the most important for workers.

I agree with Brother Mercier. The federal government, Conservatives as well as Liberals, will try to make this an electoral issue and, unless we have a NDP government, I am convinced that we will not obtain these amendments after the election. To my mind, the urgency for the labour movement is not merely to adopt the resolution and send a message to Mr. Trudeau and friends but to plan a strategy whereby we make sure that we are putting all the needed pressure to prevent this from becoming an electoral football and that it becomes a reality before the coming election. The Liberal government is presently telling us that it is ready to endorse the amendments and we are told that the Conservatives will support them. Let them prove it by giving us before the election a law that will protect workers right across the land.

MS. F. FOX (PSAC, National Component, Local 50234): I think that it is most important that everyone here in this hall vote unanimously for this resolution. We have had imminent dangers recognized. Often imminent danger is not the thing that affects our workers in the buildings that have the closed air systems, so that they do not let enough air in. The owner of the building does not want to heat a lot of fresh air and we only have to think of our members in Ottawa that work in that building in Hull and know of all the ailments they have suffered because of the air in that building and yet it says "imminent danger". This is not imminent danger and I think the Committee have done a wonderful job in tidying this up so that the people have the right to walk off the job and not wait until they have a serious illness. Vote unanimously and let it be known that we feel this way.

MR. D. ALEXANDER (UAW, Local 1965): I am the Chairman and President for the local and I deal with in-plant problems and I see the injuries happening daily; some of them are minor and some of them are pretty serious. Dealing with the health and safety legislation, I find that it only provides partial protection for the workers.

This legislation protects the corporation financially and morally. I have seen a young woman with broken twisted arms, and not able to care for her small child properly, returning to the workplace to face stress-related problems, not knowing what is going to happen to her next, then quitting the job after eight years for self-protection. I have also seen a young man suffer from lead poisoning, causing respiratory problems because the corporation did not provide proper ventilation safety equipment which was condoned by the Ministry. Then the company closed the plant. Where will this brother now get a job?

I stand in support of this resolution and I think we have to go back to the workplace and tell the corporations that we will not put up with this and I guess the bottom line is that we have to get the message across that we are there to work, I guess, and not die.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): I am hearing the question called, I will test the House. All those in favour of the question now being put please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried. The motion before the House now is the adoption of the Committee's recommendation that we endorse Resolution OHS-15. All in favour please show by raising your hand. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): The next resolution is also on Part IV of the Canada Labour Code.

MR. D. BEAN (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Member): Thank you. Resolution 11, amended, also deals with the Canada Labour Code.

> "WHEREAS the public service in large part has no legislation in the area of health and safety; and
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> "WHEREAS Treasury Board health and safety guidelines are simply that, guidelines that department are encouraged to follow voluntarily; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress aims to promote the security and welfare of all people;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC demand that the Canadian government place all federal sector workers under the auspices of a strengthened Part IV of the Canada Labour Code as detailed in its April 1981 document. 'A strategy for Workplace Health and Safety in the 1980s'."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence on this resolution; seconded by V. Ledger, Safety Committee Secretary.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): The motion is concurrence, there is no one at the microphones so I will call up for the vote. All those in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. P. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): The next resolution is also on Part IV of the Canada Labour Code, Resolution 24, Document 15.

MR. R. BERCIER (Member of the Occupational Health and Safety Committee):

> "WHEREAS the minimum standards in each province are different; and
>
> "WHEREAS the health protection standards for workplaces are different;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a national set of standards be implemented and further governments must be free to go beyond the minimum to adopt even tougher standards."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move non-concurrence on this resolution. Seconded by V. Ledger, Committee Secretary.

MS. S. MACDONALD (UE, Local 544): I cannot understand why there would be a motion of non-concurrence when it is so vitally important that across this whole country we have national standards. It should not be left into the hands of the provincial governments to set standards. It has to be national and it has to be able to be changed if it is not in the interest of the workers and I cannot understand why the Committee would be recommending non-concurrence. I hope I make my point because it really has flabbergasted more than myself.

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): This Committee is of the opinion that we do not believe in setting minimum standards. We want a federal code in this country that is second to none anywhere in this country. This Committee's feeling are if we left those standards to the provincial governments in this country such as B.C., Alberta and Saskatchewan, the Devines of this country and the Lougheeds of this country and the Bennetts of this country, would not only gut out half-decent legislation that is already in place, they would like to take us back to the days when we had no safety and health legislation. We think it is incumbent upon this government in this country for whom it was good enough to have a Union Rights Bill, it was good enough to have a Constitution, then what should be part of that Constitution is a Workers' Safety and Health Bill which is not there now. We want national guidelines that are far superior than any provincial guidelines, we do not want any provincial government copping out.

MS. S. MACDONALD (UE, Local 544): Brother, that does not explain it. What the resolution calls for is a national set of standards. What I just said was that I opposed it being provincial and that is just what the brother said. What we are asking in this resolution is a national set of standards and that is why we do not understand the recommendation of non-concurrence. We do not want it left in the hands of the provinces like B.C.

MR. R. MACDONALD (USWA, Local 6500): This resolution was submitted by Local 6500, of the United Steelworkers of America, the international union with a Canadian president. I also cannot understand what the position with regards to the Committee and in all due respect to their wisdom. If one reads the resolution, it says: "WHEREAS the health protection standards for workplaces are different; "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a national set of standards be implemented and further governments must be free to go beyond the minimum to adopt even tougher standards."

I respect what was said by the Chairman just briefly, a few moments ago, but we are not talking about weakening the standards and we are not talking about adopting something that is in B.C. or Manitoba or Ontario. What we are saying is that those different standards in those different provinces are not good enough; that they do not protect the workers and what we want is a national standard across the country that is better than what the minimum is right now or the maximum; we want better protection.

If we had the kind of protection I am sure this body is in favour of, that we have pushed for and promoted, we would not have to worry about minimum, we would not have to worry about where we are going, because we will make sure that it protects all of us to make sure that the things that happen in our plants would stop. We had 100 people die from cancer in a plant that Inco operated for years because it was supposedly safe for workers to work there. And it is happening in asbestos mines today across this country and I am glad that you set zero exposure in the recommendations in this policy paper. I cannot understand how somebody can move non-concurrence with this when all we are saying is let us get up and get the best possible protection we possibly can.

MR. R. MERCIER (CLC, Executive Vice-President): Brother President, I move to refer the resolution back to the Health and Safety Committee.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The motion to refer, a seconder? It has been duly moved and seconded, all those in favour of referrals back please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. STEWART (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Member): OHS Resolution 4:

> "WHEREAS federal employees, i.e. CN, Revenue Canada and Air Canada, are not covered by provincial health and safety regulations;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress lobby the federal government to have all employees in the province subject to provincial health and safety regulations".

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move non-concurrence). Seconded by V. Ledger.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The motion is non-concurrence in Resolution OHS-4. All in favour of the Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence, please show by raising your right hand. Down. Opposed? The motion of non-concurrence is carried.

MR. R. BERCIER (Occupational Health and Safety Committee): OHS Resolution 23:

> "WHEREAS many times workers are subject to pollution and environmental conditions that directly or indirectly affect their health;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that workers have the right to refuse work in those conditions."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence. Seconded by V. Ledger.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Motion is concurrence. Seeing no one at the mikes, I will put the question. All in favour of the Committee's recommendation of concurrence, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. L. HEARD (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Member): Resolution 22:

> "WHEREAS many companies now have or will have worker representatives; and
>
> "WHEREAS they will be very instrumental in safety problems in the plants; and
>
> "WHEREAS he or she is there to protect the worker.
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the safety representative have the authority to close down an unsafe working place."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence. Seconded by V. Ledger, Committee Secretary.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Duly moved and seconded for concurrence. No speakers, all in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MS. V. LEDGER (Occupational Health and Safety Committee Secretary): Resolution No. 28 as amended is on Document 15:

> "WHEREAS problems related to workers' health and safety continue to grow;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress and its federations fight for legislation at the federal and provincial levels which:
>
> 1. Gives workers and their union full access to company information pertaining to health and safety matters; and
>
> 2. Allows for full investigation of the workplace at any time by the union; and
>
> 3. Gives the union the right to shut down any unsafe area; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC encourage all affiliates to fight for contract clauses covering the same areas."

MR. D. PATTERSON (Occupational Health and Safety Committee chairman): On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence; seconded by V. Ledger, Committee Secretary.

MR. G. LEMIRE (BRAC, Local 2303): I do not know if this is an error but there is something I do not understand about: "Give the union the right to shut down any unsafe area." I believe this goes beyond the law. We are living on a day-to-day basis and if you give unions the right to shut down an area, I think you are going beyond the law that entitles inspectors to shut down a place. Somewhere in the resolution, the union right to shut down is mentioned and I find this open to wide interpretation. You could shut down at any time and, to me, this is going too far. For instance, in case of light failure, you could either automatically shut down the place or wait for the light to return. This is a very dangerous weapon. According to the law, this is a lock-out. The law is there for your protection; you take the phone, call the inspector and inform him about the imminence of danger. The inspector will come, he has to.

MR. D. GAGNON (PSAC, Postal Communication Component Local 10120): Further to the previous speaker's remarks, if we examine the resolution, we notice that we are merely asking the CLC to pressure the government into making amendments to the law to which the previous brother was alluding. In my opinion, there is no question of going beyond what the law allows. On the contrary, the health and safety section of the Labour Code must be amended to give unions the required means to foster health and safety, even though the means may appear to be drastic at times. There is no question of transgressing or ignoring the existing laws. We have our hearts set on occupational health and safety. We want the CLC to force the government into making amendments to that ineffective law which simply does not go far enough and I think that we should all support this resolution.

MR. R. YERRELL (PSAC, National Component, Local 70080): The three parts of the first "be it resolved" affect all of my members. They are stationed in embassies around the world in over 100 locations in which there are very many varying degrees of health and safety problems, from foreign constructed embassies to very high pollution levels in the streets. The United Nations' World Health Organization reports that, in five of our locations, it is practically deadly to your health to breathe in. Many of our embassies are also subject to terrorist threats and activities. As members are posted from Ottawa to these countries, they are not informed of the level of terrorist activity in any significant way; nor are they given the levels of pollution; nor do they have the right to refuse the posting. They are rotational persons who must go where they are sent and I urge the delegates to consider these persons and others like them who must go and work in areas that some of us would not consider feasible for reasons that many of us do not know about. As you have already heard, we in the federal public service do not enjoy any protection of the revised Canada Labour Code and that would be a very good start in this direction.

MR. G. McARTHY (UAW, Local 707): I believe that if we want to be serious about it, we must turn around and make a change within our Labour Congress and also in our international. I think the safety representative who is appointed should be elected. If you turn around and take a guy who is appointed by the international, then I will say he is not going to do a job as much as if he is elected in the plant among the rank-and-file. This is something that you should be looking into.

MR. R. FISHER (USWA, Local 7458): This resolution is for the people in a segment of the workforce who do not have the kind of protection which we in Saskatchewan used to have under the New Democratic government. I would like to point out that I am also the president of a local in a potash mine. I am also a student of Bob Sass, the North American expert when it comes to the matter of occupational health and safety. I really want to speak, particularly in reference to the concerns expressed by a brother who said that it would be going too far to have the kinds of power within the unions which the resolution recommends. From my own personal experience as a student of Bob Sass, it is not possible for us to have enough power to be able to shut places down. In the potash mines where I work we use the power which we have under the Saskatchewan Occupational Health and Safety Act; and we actually did shut down a portion of the mine. There is no question about it that, when it comes to our own occupational health and safety, that we have to have this kind of protection and there is no question whatsoever that, if workers are given that kind of responsibility, they are sensible enough not to go beyond the necessary measures to protect their own occupational health and safety.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): All right, I will test the House. Those in favour of the question now being put, please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion has been carried, the question before the House now is the adoption of the Resolution OHS-28 as amended, all in favour of the Committee's recommendation please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. W. MUNDLE (CUPW, Moncton Local): Brother Chairman, I understand the Executive will discuss the agenda at noon and I would like to move that tonight we have the discussion on International Affairs. Since we did not have anything on Central America at the last Convention and a possibility that it will never come up for another two years, if it is not discussed at this Convention, what we have is an International Affairs Department operating without direction of the delegates. I would like to see the first issue debated tonight if that is possible. I would move that.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Robert White gave an explanation of the agenda, I will call on him to reply to the speaker.

MR. R. WHITE (CLC, General Vice-President): Brother, we will discuss the evening agenda at lunchtime including International Affairs and it will come to this Convention, not be on the last day and I will have a report to make after the Council meeting at lunch today.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The motion is not in order. The Executive Council has to try and work the agenda to give all the Committees an opportunity to report when the reports are ready.

The convention adjourned for lunch at 12:25 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1984

Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:15 p.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott, CLC President): I call upon the Chairman of the Committee of Officers' Reports.

OFFICERS' REPORTS COMMITTEE

MR. J. MUNRO (Officers' Reports Committee Chairman): Delegates turn to Document No. 17. This is the Report of the Officers' Reports Committee:

"The members of the Officers' Reports Committee would like to draw the delegates' attention to the Presidential Address, the Report of the Executive Council and the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer together with the Financial Statement.

"The Committee would like to commend those responsible for the preparation of these documents. We urge delegates to read these documents carefully, as they provide a concise and clear summary of the activities of your Congress over the past two years. They also provide insight into the challenges labour faces and likely future directions for the CLC and its affiliates.

"The Committee would first like to reiterate some of the principal themes and issues raised by the President in his keynote address.

"Clearly, Canadian workers have emerged bloodied but unbowed from the economic and social crisis that has engulfed this country over the past two years. The Committee shares the President's pride in the collective efforts of the Congress affiliates to take a united stand against concessions. This fight, which was successfully mounted by nearly all CLC affiliates and representing a broad cross-section of working Canadians, has telegraphed the important message to employers and governments alike that the labour movement is determined and ready to fight for what is rightfully ours. Organizing breakthroughs in the formerly impregnable retail sector and the interest shown by workers from unaffiliated organizations in entering Canada's 'House of Labour' are clear evidence of the strength, vitality and resiliency of our movement and our Congress.

"The so-called economic recovery touted by business and government is reflected only in the profit ledgers of our corporations and banks. This sham recovery has benefited neither the more than two million unemployed nor the living standards of workers, who have seen their incomes dwindle in the face of continued inflation and high interest rates. The Committee strongly supports the President's desire that collective balloting become as much a labour priority over the next several years as collective bargaining. Working people in those Western industralized nations fortunate enough to have social democratic governments, whose philosophies mirror that of our own New Democratic Party, have clearly fared better than workers living under monetarist economic systems. The need for concerted political action is the clear common denominator underlying nearly all CLC social and economic objectives. The reversals of previous political gains made under New Democratic Party governments in British Columbia and Saskatchewan show us once again that what is won at the bargaining table can be swiftly lost in the stroke of the legislative pen.

"The Committee notes the impressive list of CLC activities and accomplishments cited by the President. While many of these are also touched on in the Report of the Executive Council, we would like to highlight the CLC's positive contribution to the peace and disarmament movement in Canada, the consistent high quality representation made to the federal government on behalf of the Congress affiliates and the critical actions being undertaken to develop trade union and progressive political movements in the Third World, and particularly Latin America.

"The recommendations being put forward by the CLC Commission on Constitution and Structure regarding increased representation for public service unions and women trade unionists are laudable and worthy of delegate support. The Committee is in full agreement with the President that the time has come for labour to practice what it preaches on the issue of affirmative action for women workers. To conclude this section of our report, we can do no better than echo the President's wish that 'we leave our children and their children . . . a world of peace, bread, and freedom . . . secure because the human family rules supreme'.

"Turning now to the Report of the Executive Council, the Committee cannot help but emphasize the deplorable economic circumstances facing Canadian workers. The past two years have seen record numbers of workers join the ranks of the unemployed. The Committee notes that 'official' unemployment levels of one and a half million jobless considerably understate the true situation. Employed workers saw their real earnings steadily diminish through the same period. While a profit recovery has slightly improved the lot of some workers by the end of last year, a further economic slump in recent months has reversed what little progress had been made. Real earnings continue to drop, unemployment remains at near record levels and rising interest rates ominously threaten to choke off any recovery in the foreseeable future. Working people still legitimately feel great uncertainty with the present and fear for the future.

"The Committee would accordingly like to commend the efforts of the Congress and its standing committees to promote the interests of working people through these difficult economic and social times. While this brief report makes it impossible to detail all these activities, the Committee would like to highlight a number of them.

"The CLC carried forward its high-profile campaign against high interest rates beyond the last Biennial Convention. These efforts were incorporated into the Economic Recovery Alternative, or ERA campaign, devised to promote the economic rights of working people. A highly successful national conference, entitled 'The People's Response to the Planned Depression,' was held in Ottawa on March 1 and 2, 1983, as part of the ERA campaign. Hundreds of delegates were in attendance, representing not only labour but the churches, women, seniors, native peoples, teachers and social policy groups. In conjunction with provincial and territorial federations of labour, the CLC produced widely-distributed materials supporting labour's economic recovery program. A number of federations also held province-wide ERA conferences. The campaign culminated in the fall of last year with a series of community-based economic recovery mini-conferences. When all its activities are considered, the ERA campaign involved one of the largest mobilizations of labour's resources outside federal election periods.

"The Congress has promoted the recommendation flowing from a very successful and well-attended women's conference held in March 1983. The Committee points out to delegates that the wide range of activities in the area of women's rights is set out as part of this Report of the Executive Council. The CLC has also demonstrated a growing concern with the issue of technological change. A number of materials have been produced, including a well-received manual on negotiating technological change. A two-day conference on technological change was held for ranking officers and union leadership in the fall of 1983.

"For more than a year now, the CLC has been deeply involved in the issue of peace and disarmament. The Executive Council in March 1983 adopted a resolution opposing Cruise Missile testing. The CLC went on to become a founding partner of the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. This campaign is backed by a broad-based coalition of groups representing peace organizations, churches, women, students, natives and unions. Starting this spring, volunteer canvassers in communities and workplaces across Canada will be collecting signatures on a national petition that calls for: a refusal to test the Cruise Missile in Canada; Canada to be declared a nuclear-weapons-free-zone; diversion of arms race spending to socially useful purposes; and a free vote in Parliament on these three points. 'Caravans' from each coast will then bring the signatures gathered to Ottawa for an October 20 presentation to Members of Parliament. The CLC has enthusiastically backed this campaign, providing much needed financial and organizational support at the national level.

"In addition to its ERA campaign, the CLC has continued its lobbying efforts to promote our members' concerns and interests in all aspects of economic, social and labour legislation. Some 29 submissions to government and government agencies were presented in the past two years. The CLC has continued to work with its public sector affiliates to oppose federal and provincial government wage control programs, particularly Bill C-124 at the national level. The government has been pressed for significant amendments to the Canada Labour Code, particularly with reference to sexual harassment, technological change and occupational health and safety. The CLC has supported its affiliates in confronting the emerging issue of deregulation. This year also marked the establishment of the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre, providing yet another forum for labour to air its concerns and promote progressive policy options.

"On the political front, the CLC has continued to expand its 'on-the-job canvass' program in a number of provinces across Canada. With a federal election seemingly imminent, efforts to plan and implement labour's parallel campaign in support of our political allies in the New Democratic Party have intensified. On social policy issues, the CLC continues to work closely with like-minded groups on such issues as medicare, civil rights and housing. Employee recovery and union counsellor programs remain a major concern. The CLC has also continued to develop its recognized leadership in international trade union affairs, with particular reference to the Commonwealth, the Caribbean and Latin America. The CLC maintains a high profile within the International Labour Organization and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

"The Committee would like to draw to delegates' attention the fact that, since the last Biennial Convention, the CLC Education Department and the Labour Education and Studies Centre have been integrated to form the 'Educational Services Department'. The CLC continues as an acknowledged leader in the production of labour educational materials, with more than ten thousand trade unionists having attended CLC schools and seminars. Similarly, the CLC has established its own health and safety department over the past two years. This function was formerly performed by the Labour Education and Studies Centre. The new department and its committee have embarked on an aggressive program to make the workplace a safer and healthier environment.

"As mentioned earlier, the Committee is able to touch on only a limited number of activities in this report. A summary of each department's activities is contained in the Report of the Executive Council, and we urge delegates to read this to better appreciate the scope and magnitude of activities undertaken by your Congress. The Committee pays tribute to the work of CLC staff and members of CLC affiliates appointed to serve on CLC standing and special committees.

"Turning now to the composition of the Executive Council itself, the Committee would like to note the retirement of two long-standing council members — Grace Hartman of the Canadian Union of Public Employees and Bill McGregor of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks. We thank them on your behalf for a job well done. The Committee also notes with the deepest regret the untimely passing in February 1983 of B.C. Federation of Labour President Jim Kinnaird. We can only concur with the Report of the Executive Council when it states that 'his faithful and courageous leadership of the labour movement of British Columbia was an inspiration to working people throughout the land'.

"The Committee would at this point like to acknowledge the tremendous work accomplished by the provincial and territorial federations of labour and district labour councils. As more than 90 per cent of the membership of Congress affiliates falls within provincial jurisdiction, we cannot overstate the value of the work the federations undertake. Similarly, the labour councils, directed almost entirely by unpaid local activists, demonstrate, through their community involvement, that labour's concerns do not end at the plant gate or office door.

"As will be noted in our résumé of the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer, the economic downturn has had a marked effect on CLC membership. The Report of the Executive Council, for its part, points out that the recession and its resulting layoffs have reduced the membership of 54 Congress affiliates, most of which are essentially based in the private sector. Those unions whose membership has grown through the past two years are primarily public sector.

"We welcome the continuing trend towards merger of CLC affiliates. As of December 31, 1983, the CLC was composed of 49 international unions, 23 national unions, five regional unions, 12 provincial and territorial federations of labour and 113 district labour councils. The Report of the Executive Council devotes considerable time to a discussion of the present structure of the Canadian labour movement. The Committee urges delegates to take the time to thoroughly read this section of the report. It points out that the fragmentation of unions seriously weakens the capabilities of organized labour and thus its chances of achieving its objectives.

"In recognition of this fact, the President in September 1982 appointed a committee to examine the question of unions outside the CLC structure. Many are independent unions representing such professionals as economists, pilots, nurses, teachers and engineers. Many of these groups are provincially-based, with some forming umbrella federations at the national level. A further developing group of unions represent specialists or technicians who have either vocational or on-the-job training relating to emerging new technology. Both these categories comprise highly mobile workers with more of a bond to their profession than to the industry or service in which they are employed.

"The Committee agrees with the Report of the Executive Council when it states: 'Central labour bodies and national unions must adjust their thinking, programs and policies to the demands of this changing society.' If the CLC and its affiliates fail to provide a home for these workers, existing or new competitive organizations will surely do so. Immediate steps must be taken to attempt the goal of unifying all unions in Canada in one national labour organization.

"Looking ahead to the years 1984 and 1985, the Report of the Executive Council regrettably sees a continuation of weak economic activity, high unemployment and government cutbacks. Private sector unions have already learned that the so-called economic recovery produces few new jobs in uneven distribution across the country. Employment growth is likely to occur mainly in the service, high technology and light industrial sectors. Many of these new jobs involve low-paying, part-time work in unorganized settings.

"The federal government itself predicts an official level of more than a million unemployed until at least the end of the decade. Attacks on public sector unions through wage control programs and cutbacks are likely to increase. As the Report of the Executive Council concludes: 'More than ever before labour must act together and speak with one voice.' In this spirit, the Committee directs the attention of delegates to the five policy papers that have been carefully prepared for their consideration.

"The Committee now turns its attention to the Report of the Secretary-Treasurer and Financial Statement. The Secretary-Treasurer administers an annual budget in excess of 11 million dollars, and we would like to congratulate him and his aides for their careful management and direction of CLC financial affairs. In 1983, a surplus of revenue over expenditures contributed to an increase in the Congress' net worth to $2.4 million.

"This growth in income through the 1982-83 period was primarily due to the increase in per capita tax paid by affiliated unions and directly chartered unions. This increase would have been greater were it not for the continuing decline in total CLC membership. The December 1983 membership on which per capita was paid was down 66,442 over the period 24 months earlier. This is 175,254 less than when CLC membership peaked in 1979, before suspension of 12 building trades unions for extended delinquency in per capita payment.

"Much of the recent membership decline results from the continuing deep recession, which saw many of our affiliates' members lose their jobs. Affiliates should nonetheless be commended for the renewed organizing efforts which have checked and in many cases begun to reverse membership loss.

"The CLC's present financial surplus seems substantial when compared with other years. However, the Committee notes this surplus is sufficient to keep the CLC solvent for only four months. Good financial planning demands a reserve fund sufficient to cover one year's operations. As projected operating costs will increase over the next two years, such costs will be equal to or greater than the Congress' net income by the next Biennial Convention in 1986.

"This 1984 Biennial Convention will cost the CLC more than half a million dollars, with only 18 per cent of this cost off-set by delegate registration fees. The resultant financial impact on the CLC is, however, lessened by the $25,000 taken from each month's revenue and deposited into a special convention account.

"Two cents from each 43 cents monthly per capita paid is deposited in the Special Organizing Fund, established at the 1972 Biennial Convention to underwrite the costs of organizing the unorganized. Expenditures totalling nearly one and a half million dollars were made from this fund in the last two calendar years. Additional information on the operation of the Special Organizing Fund can be found in the report of the Department of Organization which forms part of the Report of the Executive Council.

"Employees of the CLC now number 105 men and women working from national office and five regional offices across Canada — an increase of two persons since the last Convention. In addition, 19 Educational Services staff are paid through a grant from the federal government.

"The growing actions of federal and provincial governments undermining the labour movement and progressive social and economic legislation has made it necessary for the CLC to spend significant sums of money not budgeted for broadly-based fight-back campaigns. The Committee believes such reactionary actions by governments and business will increase, and directs the attention of Convention delegates to a proposed constitutional amendment increasing the per capita tax by five cents a month, effective January 1, 1986. The monies raised from this levy are designated for an expanded and heightened effort by the CLC to protect the interests of its members at the legislative level.

"On a final note, the Committee notes the retirement at this Convention of Secretary-Treasurer Donald Montgomery. Brother Montgomery has served as CLC Secretary-Treasurer for 10 years and the Committee adds its thanks for a job well done and best wishes for an active and interesting retirement.

"In conclusion, the Committee would like to commend the work of the CLC Officers, the members of the Executive Committee and Council and the CLC staff. We ask the Convention to endorse our expression of appreciation to them for their services.

"All of which is respectfully submitted on behalf of the Committee."

MR. D. ANDERSON (Officers' Reports Committee): The Committee moves adoption. On behalf of the Committee, I so move; seconded by J. Munro, Chairman, Officers' Reports Committee.

MR. J. NICHOL (UFAWU, Local 7): I commend the Committee on the report. It has obviously been a very active period since the last Convention. But I want to deal in particular with the reference to the unions that are outside of the Canadian Labour Congress. Last night, at the caucus of the B.C. delegates, there was a film shown that depicted the activities of the labour movement in British Columbia in 1983, the activities of Operation Solidarity together with the Solidarity Coalition and I would heartily recommend that the officers and the Executive Council take under advisement the idea of showing that film to this entire Convention. It shows this: that when the government in British Columbia, after their election, wanted to destroy all of their enemies they brought in 26 bills that pretty well destroyed labour's rights, human rights, destroyed the rights of all of the disadvantaged, the teachers, whatever. And there was the most massive fight-back that the province of British Columbia and probably the labour movement in the entire country has ever seen. A number of community organizations came together and the labour movement in British Columbia after too many years came together as well, pretty well as one, to fight back against that kind of legislation. There were rallies that numbered 50,000 to 60,000 people held in Empire Stadium, a rally of 25,000 people held in Victoria and it demonstrates what the labour movement can do when it gets its collective act together.

There are unions that are outside of the Congress. We have people here from the executive of the B.C. Teachers' Federation sitting in the visitors' gallery, who I am sure would dearly love to be on the floor of this Convention, making their contribution to the effectiveness of the labour movement in this country. We have people here from the Hospital Employees' Union who are anxious to come into the House of Labour. There are other unions like the Teamsters, who by their own choice decided to disaffiliate from this Congress; they probably do not want back in. And there are other unions in British Columbia who are in dispute with some of the existing affiliates and they probably do not want to come in either. But I think that the door somehow has to be opened to those organizations who want to affiliate with this Congress to come into the House of Labour.

It is a fact that, with the building trades out — and I appreciate that there is a move to allow them back in by their own choice — there are as many people in unions outside of the Congress in British Columbia as there are in. That situation is not good enough, particularly when we see what unity and solidarity was able to accomplish when we faced that attack by the Bennett government.

Now I appreciate that there are lots of sensitivities by those unions that hold a jurisdiction in some of those fields. I understand that there was a committee that tendered a report to the Executive Council and I think it is unfortunate that that report was not made available to delegates but I will say this, that if you were not able, in the Executive Council, to develop a policy on the question of the non-affiliates then I would suggest that the effort has to be made to reconcile those differences between the affiliates and those unions that genuinely want to come in. I think that the Executive Council has to initiate meetings between these organizations with the idea of playing the role of mediator if necessary, but I do not think that we should wait another two years until another Convention and then wait again and again. I think that we have to have action now, affirmative action that is going to bring those organizations into the House of Labour.

MR. C. ANDSTEIN (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 511): Like the previous speaker, I too would like to commend Brother Jack Munro and his Committee for highlighting a very important part of the Officers' Report and that is the part about the survival of Canadian Labour Congress and the future of the labour movement.

We have discussed for a number of years at this Congress bringing unions outside the House of Labour in. Two years ago, the Executive Council, and I think they should be commended for this, set up a committee to travel the country, chaired by Brother Montgomery, to look at that very issue. That committee spoke to affiliated unions, to non-affiliated unions. It drew up its recommendations, presented those recommendations to the Executive Committee. However, none of us knows what is in those recommendations because the report stayed there.

Also, the Commission on Constitution and Structure travelled around the country, taking submissions. Many people had discussions on the same issue with that committee. We realize, as the previous speaker said, that there were sensitivities on the question of bringing non-affiliates into the House of Labour and the Canadian Labour Congress. Those are questions of jurisdiction, those are questions of breakaway unions. We think in British Columbia that we can handle that; if we can then surely the rest of the labour movement can do so.

Last year, we went through a very unique experience in Operation Solidarity. A melding together of affiliated unions and non-affiliated unions in a common cause directed towards a government that was trying to smash all working people and I emphasize all working people, all unions, not just the ones in the B.C. Federation and the CLC, but all unions. I should point out that the only unions who would not come into Operation Solidarity were the so-called Canadian unions like CAIMAW who would not agree to one of our fundamental principles, which was a no-raiding pact. But we did it without them. Because of that experience in British Columbia, we have also put together a committee from our Executive Council to deal with the issue of affiliates and non-affiliates. Again we recognize the sensitivities of jurisdiction of breakaway unions. That committee, made up of representatives of a number of the major public and private sector unions, adopted a report which has since been forwarded to the Executive Council. The Executive Council and the Executive Committee have had two years to look at those reports. What we have been told is that the issues are too sensitive for us to discuss. What we are being asked to do is to wait another two years. I think that the Executive Council should give us an indication of why we should wait. What are they going to do over the next two years that they were unable to do during the last two years? Their own report says that immediate steps must be taken to attempt the goal of unifying all unions in Canada in one national labour organization. That labour organization should be the Canadian Labour Congress. I would ask the Executive Council and the President of the Congress to please give us the delegates here an indication of what immediate steps they will take.

MR. D. McDERMOTT (CLC, President): Let me do that right now. We are not in the business of turning away members. Those organizations that are out there who wish to come into this Congress, for the most part, there is no inhibition to that. But we all know that the issue is a lot more complex than the way it has been described here in the last few minutes. We have breakaway groups that broke from existing affiliates a long time ago, a short time ago; that is an extremely sensitive area and we owe the affiliates to this Congress a little bit more than we do the people outside. We have an obligation to them too.

The next meeting of the Executive Council of this Congress, that will occur in a matter of weeks, is devoted exclusively to the whole question of unions outside of the Congress and we will be actively brokering, soliciting, talking and dialoguing with those organizations that we now know are ready to come in, those who have indicated an interest and, yes, even soliciting those that have not. Now, this is an active program. It will occur. It must occur and that includes our friends in the building trades and many other varied people out there. The B.C. Teachers are here, they want in, come on in; there is no inhibition to that.

MR. G. STONEY (New Westminster & District Labour Council): One of the things that has happened with me since I have arrived here on Sunday is that I have had the story told to me many, many times about what happened in Kelowna in November 1983. I think that somebody should lay this out and I plan to do that in the next four minutes. Somebody should tell the story about what really took place. Number one, I was fortunate enough to be in a meeting at the B.C. Government Employees' Union board room where all of the officers of the B.C. Federation of Labour bar two were there. There was representation there from the Teachers, from the Hospital Employees' Union, from the Health Science Employees; from the building trades; from the Operation Solidarity Coalition. Because the President of the B.C. Federation was sick and unable to attend the meeting, the First Vice-President of the Federation was asked to go there and see whether or not negotiations could be settled. Already the B.C. Government Employees' Union was out. CUPE had a large number of members out. A large number of teachers were out. There were 7,000 IWA members out.

There were a multitude of other people who were involved in it. The escalation was to start the next day and to proceed within ten days to have everybody in the province shut down. And there were some people who were thinking about what are the consequences of a general strike; and it is to bring down the government. You either force that government to resign and call an election or you force them to do what they did in Alcan when there was a decision made to defy legislation and they brought in the RCMP and the troops.

The decision was made by that group of people, representatives, as I said, of all of the people who were involved in Operation Solidarity at that point to see whether or not there was an area of negotiation to settle that dispute. The B.C. Government Employees' Union, at about 6:00 o'clock, had arrived at a settlement. They had an agreement in hand. They had exclusions from Bill 3 which was contentious and we sat there. And the decision was made that someone should go to the Kelowna and the decision was made that it should be Brother Munro and he went to Kelowna. And one of the fallacies that has to be cleared up is that he did not go alone. The decision was made he should have someone with him, at his request, and Gerry Scott, who that time was on staff with the B.C. Federation of Labour, agreed to go and when they arrived at the airport and the government jet was sitting there, Brother Munro was told that there was only room on the plane for him. "There are no other passengers going, we have some Cabinet Ministers, we have to move along here," he was told. Brother Munro's answer was: "Well if my partner, Brother Scott here, cannot go, then I am not going", and two Cabinet Ministers got off the plane and the two of them went.

There was a constant dialogue between that group sitting in that board room and Brother Kube, who was at home sick and Brother Munro, as to what was being agreed to. The first proposal that came back from Brother Munro was unacceptable, because it did not deal with the issue of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, as far as where the education money that was lost during the dispute would be spent. He went back and negotiated some more and came back with a proposal that was ultimately unanimously accepted by that group in that room, including all of the people that I have mentioned. That message in his hand was approved over the phone by Brother Kube, approved by all of the officers of the B.C. Federation of Labour who were in attendance and all of those other people. Brother Munro went back and said "You have a deal" and that is the way that scenario took place.

It did not happen that one individual went and had a little meeting with the Premier of the province that became the Kelowna Accord. It was something that was done by all of the trade union movement in British Columbia, by the affiliates of the B.C. Federation of Labour and all of those other organizations that I mentioned that were affiliated to Operation Solidarity.

MR. G. YETMAN (N.S. Federation of Labour): I have always maintained that both ends of Canada keep her together, that is B.C. and Nova Scotia. But I want to tell my friends from British Columbia that my hat is off to you, you did an excellent job in British Columbia with Operation Solidarity. The few people who were not supporting you were not there because they were down in Nova Scotia fighting with the United Mine Workers, an affiliate to this Congress and a long-standing union that is well-known in this country. That is why they were not supporting you, but that raid failed, because the labour movement in Nova Scotia came together in solidarity. The federation, the labour council, the affiliates together defeated the independent union, the CCU, and we sent them with their bags back to B.C. and the United Mine Workers are still in the Federation, the labour council and the House of Labour. Let me say, as a member of the Executive Council, that Council is not hiding behind anything. We decided at a meeting that this is a top priority and we deal with it immediately after this Convention with a meeting of a day or two days or three days or five days, if it is needed, to discuss people outside the House of Labour and that is not two years. As a member of that Council, I will want to see that this is done. We will do the job.

MR. J. ADAMS (NUPGE-BCCEU, Local 610): I rise to congratulate the Committee on their report. It has obviously been an incredible two years since the last Convention and the Committee is to be congratulated once again for their fine job in pinpointing the real issues.

I would like at this time to draw to the attention of the delegates the Committee's recommendations and reports on dealing with the non-affiliates, with the independents. In the province of British Columbia, we were subjected to the most vicious attack that any government in this country has ever launched on its own people. The government of British Columbia attacked not only the labour movement but every single citizen in that province. Howver, it was the labour movement that bore the brunt of that attack. It was the labour movement that mobilized to fight the government. We need all the resources at our disposal if we are able to continue to fight that government and similar governments across the country. We can no longer afford the luxury of old animosities, old jealousies, old political disappointments in the midst of the labour movement. We must as a priority bring within the House of Labour, within the Canadian Labour Congress, every single trade unionist in this country. This has to be the highest and most important priority of this body. I am heartened by the statement from the President of the Canadian Labour Congress, I only hope, when we leave Montreal and the rhetoric has died down, that this debate is remembered, that the feelings of the people of British Columbia are remembered, that the position taken by the B.C. caucus is remembered and that every effort is made to bring into the House of Labour those independent unions who are presently on the outside.

MR. P. WHITAKER (CUPW, Flin Flon Local): I have a question of the Chairman. I was looking through the report and I noticed on page 3 that it mentions the fact that this year also marked the establishment of the Canadian Labour Market and Productivity Centre. I have a little bit of concern with this. If we adopt this report, does that mean that we are also endorsing the participation in the Productivity Centre? The reason I am concerned is that we seem to be going through these reports, yet we do not have a chance to actually get in to debate the resolutions; we usually only get to one or two and I notice the Productivity Centre one is further down the line.

MR. D. McDERMOTT (CLC, President): Well, we do not have any misgivings about it, we are not trying to seduce anyone. By the adoption of this report, you are not endorsing anything.

MR. P. WHITAKER (CUPW, Flin Flon Local): Will we still get a chance to debate on the Productivity Centre?

MR. D. McDERMOTT (CLC, President): You bet!

MR. C. PASCUCCI (PSAC-CEIU, Local 543): It is hard to condemn or speak against a report that includes so many things that have been done but I wish to point out to the delegates there is one area in here that is not talked about at all and that is the unemployed and organizing the unemployed. And I think here, it was very commendable, in terms of the Economic Conference that the Canadian Labour Congress put on in March 1983, where they had representatives of the unemployed there, though these people were not necessarily union members. I think, if we start looking at the real large group that we have to be able to mobilize and help organize, it is the unemployed. One job that has not been done and that we have to get involved in is organizing the unemployed. We can talk about recovery but if recovery does not happen then who will be blamed in that sense? So, it is extremely important in terms of all the policies and many of the social services resolutions that we deal in terms of building coalitions, of working with the unorganized and the unemployed.

MR. W. CLARK (TWU, President): I rise to support all of the principles set out in the report, but I would like to talk to all the delegates about the question of labour solidarity and labour unity because the problems are not restricted to the province of British Columbia. Most importantly, I am appreciative of the remarks that talk about blurring technologies that wipe out jurisdictional lines in the new emerging types of unions in the communities that we wilhave to look to. After having said that, I would like to say that we are proud in British Columbia of what we have done so far, with Operation Solidarity. As Brother White pointed out on Monday morning, it was because of the support of the labour movement that, although the UAW did not win all of their struggles with Chrysler and these people, they did not lose either and the same would hold true for Operation Solidarity. We had a British Columbia Federation of Labour with a long and proud history of solidarity and militancy already; and, because of problems within our own house, the BCFL was not in a position to take on the government of British Columbia. We had to start forming an Operation Solidarity to pull sisters and brothers back into the labour movement in British Columbia who had been there before and some who had not been there before. We closed ranks and were doing O.K. and we are having an annual meeting of Operation Solidarity next month. That should not have to happen, it should be the BCFL and the Canadian Labour Congress that we are working through. We feel badly that the B.C. Federation of Labour is in a bit of a vacuum; but the truth is that has happened and we have to do something to remedy that. We have to find methods somehow and I am not impugning any devious plots or anything else by anybody. I recognize the sensitivities the same as everybody else does; and I certainly do not want to insult any large affiliates. We have to put this thing together, not just in British Columbia. British Columbia is not the only province in Canada that is suffering high unemployment and bad labour codes, the people in Newfoundland are just as bad off as we are. What we do here has to benefit all of the workers in Canada, not just British Columbia.

We met with the NDP caucus a month ago to get some help on the Labour Code and, at that meeting, we had with us the Teamsters, the Teachers, the Hospital Employees, the building trades. We cannot survive without those people, not just in British Columbia, but in all of Canada and I implore the Executive Council to come down with some kind of a policy and initiative that will resolve these problems.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery): I will test the House. All of those now in favour of the question being put, please show. Down. Those opposed to the question being put, please show. The motion is carried and the question before the House now is the adoption of the Recommendation of the Committee. All in favour of the adoption of the report, please show. Down. Any opposed. The motion is carried.

Appreciation — Convention staff

At this particular time, I am going to take advantage of being Acting Chairman to make one of my infrequent addresses to the Congress and it will not be long. As you know, this is my last term, I will be through by noon on Friday or late Friday afternoon; and it has been some 40 years since I started in the labour movement. They have been interesting years and sometimes we survive the years in better shape than others. I met a lot of people, some now retired, but I want to take this opportunity on behalf of the staff of the Secretary-Treasurer's office and our accounting office and those that worked with me on the Convention, to thank all of you who have been helpful to us in this Convention and past conventions and I wish you well. In the next Convention, I will be sitting over here some place, watching all of you work and saying well, maybe they are almost as good as we were in days gone by! Thank you very much.

ADDRESS BY ALAN SAPPER
Fraternal Delegate, TUC

MR. A. SAPPER (Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress): It is with great pleasure that Bill Whatley and I, from the TUC, are here to bring you faternal greetings from over 10.5 million trade unionists. Unfortunately, that number is reducing but, of course, I am not here to just depress you. Trade unionists all over the world are suffering as individuals and as organizations, under the hands of employers and governments.

You probably know that, in Britain, we are confronted by a Conservative Government, led by Mrs. Thatcher, the like of which has been unknown in this century. She and her cabinet colleagues have decided to declare war on the British working class and that threatens our social services, cutting them, our education, our health service, everything except the police and the army in fact. The very goals which we thought we had achieved over the years are being snatched away from us. But of course, not without a fight. The government itself has shown that they will stop at nothing to destroy the force of the British working class. Their activities both economic and political, have meant over 4,000,000 unemployed workers and an additional 3,500,000 workers on low pay, below subsistance levels.

Of course, British workers show their revolt against this system in their particular and historic ways. Because this government in Britain tried to close down one-fifth of old mine workings in Britain, smashing communities, losing 2,000, 3,000 jobs at a swing, the National Union of Mine Workers in Britain at this moment is on strike in resistance. Their executive have asked me to extend fraternal greetings to you at this Convention. They are closely aligned to you and your experiences. You know, the mine workers are not fighting for wages, they are fighting against those pit closures, fighting for the communities that those pits are in, and the magnificent solidarity that has been shown by other unions is exemplified by the growing solidarity in this country of Canada.

Bill and I know that you have similar problems and I certainly will not trespass into the issues that are a proper concern of your Convention, but we have heard about what the authorities are trying to do to shackle trade unions in British Columbia and there are more than passing resemblances to the situation in Britain where, for the first time, the government is seeking to involve the state in the way trade unions and their allies conduct their affairs.

I must now tell you another significant event of the year 1984. It is 150 years since six English farm workers from the village of Tolpuddle were transported to Australia for seven years for daring to organize the trade union. That was 1834 and we have come a long way since then. It has been a hard fight and we thought we had largely won the battle. But I do not think any trade union movement worthy of its name is free to ignore the threats and attacks that are always there when they are struggling to better the conditions of their members and we, in Britain, are fighting against the most serious attacks of all.

The British Government this year, unilaterally, and without consultation, decided that almost 8,000 civil service workers at the government Communications Headquarters should be offered £1,000 each to sell their right to belong to a trade union. They were told that they should lose their jobs if they did not sign this agreement. But these rights are inalienable. They cannot be sold. People in Canada or in Britain and indeed all over the world have fought and died for the right to organize, have fought and died to defend themselves and their families; and our duty is to defend that right and we shall win them back in Britain and elsewhere in the world.

I mentioned Tolpuddle, an insignificant village in Britain, but in Tolpuddle, the British trade union movement is organizing a series of events to mark the 150th anniversary including a rally in the village of Tolpuddle and we are hoping that you, Dennis, will be coming to address the rally on July 11. Five out of the six of the martyrs, when they were given the free pardon after mass demonstrations at that time, finally settled on farms in the neighbourhood of London, Ontario, and their descendents still live in that area. I think that their courage, their example, should inspire us all.

Our movement has had many thousands of men and women who were prepared to make big sacrifices for their rights and those of other working people to form and join trade unions consider what they went through in 1834. Could they have imagined that 150 years later, the trade union movement would be millions strong in democratic countries? Could they have imagined that the Prime Minister of the country to which they have been transported had made his name in serving the working people in the leadership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions? And would not the pioneers of the trade union movement in Canada in 1830 be gratified, if they could see this great Convention of trade unionists. The people in Canada, in South Africa, in Chile, in Latin America and in Britain are not made of lesser stuff than those who went before us, but we owe it to them to keep the trade union flag flying.

The TUC, during its past congresses, has roundly condemned other sorts of oppression. They condemned the American intervention in Nicaragua. They condemned the American interference in the democratic struggles in Guatemala and the rest of the Latin American continent and above all, they condemned the invasion of Grenada, a fellow Commonwealth country. We are bitterly and absolutely opposed to the spread of nuclear missiles through the cruise system. We join hands from London with the citizens and workers of Vancouver in declaring both our cities as nuclear-weapon-free zones and we hope to expand that.

The TUC also applauds those heroic women of Greenham Common forming a continuous picket around the American nuclear base of cruise missiles. In these dark days, I think it is essential for trade union leaders to look at the world around them and to see what they can learn from the examples of other countries. We have to see how we can raise levels of organization, we have to improve recruitment and insure that our unions continue to be attracted to new commerce, and younger people in the labour force, to the people in high technology industries which, in Britain, we call the sunrise industries, and to women and to members of minority groups. These rights are the inalienable rights of workers, whatever their colour and sex.

Your debate about concessions reminded me of what is actually occurring on the other side of the coin in some trade union groups in Britain, in the sunrise industries of high Japanese technology and British technology, and we hope that the sunrise industries will not see the sunset of trade union principles, of sweetheart deals, no-strike clauses, shake-out of employees and employer domination of the work force, so that unions become irrelevant.

We have to examine and understand that redundancy payments accepted by certain sections of workers is just blood money selling their jobs, those of their children and their children's children. We must ensure that we are responsive to our members who often now are different from working people of former generations. They have different approaches; they look to unions for different services from those we have provided in the past. Most of all, they insist on a proper voice in the decisions that affect them. We have to give them their say, from the grass-root level upwards, from the shop floor upwards. We have to really say to them that it is not just a condition of our continued effort, functioning and strength, it is essential for a stable, social progress as our people faced an uncertain and rapidly changing future. And we, at convention and other congresses, have to give leadership, we have to win the commitment of our members and our societies to solidarity. We must demonstrate that we are all vulnerable, that we all one day may be unable to defend ourselves, that unemployment might strike us. We have to show governments that economic and technical change is best facilitated by bringing forward practical measures to reassure those who feel threatened by that change.

I should close now by saying how much the TUC appreciates opportunity for joint action between the TUC and the CLC on trade union education programs in developing countries which are afforded by the Commonwealth Trade Union Council with its chairman, your own President, Dennis McDermott. Frankly, I see little hope for the future of the world unless the industrialized countries assist the poor of the earth to raise their living standards and productive capacity. We are all interdependent with each other and progress in the Third World will fuel recovery in our own countries. To be useful, development must serve social purposes and income and employment will only be properly and fairly generated if effective trade union strength and solidarity measures are taken with brothers and sisters under attack throughout the world, and particularly in our own two countries of the U.K. and Canada.

We, in the TUC, greatly value the close ties which we feel we have with the CLC. We look forward to maintaining the friendly contacts and co-operation that bind us together and we hope as working people together, we hope to win all the fights that are opposed to us and our members.

AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING SERVICE TO HUMANITY

CHAIRMAN: (Mr. McDermott): We now move into what I hope will be one of the great highlights of this convention. As you know, we pay compliments to people, periodically, for what we call outstanding service to humanity. That is the highest award that we can make to anyone of us in society and the recipients this year are a man-and-wife team who have both toiled in the vineyards of human rights in this country for many years, Dan and Donna Hill. And that young man sitting with them, you may recognize, because he is pretty notable and famous in his own right, the multi-talented poet, song writer, one of Canada's most outstanding performers and entertainers, Dan Hill junior.

And for the purpose of introducing the Hills to you to illustrate, in more detail than I have, the contribution that they have made to the human family is an old friend of ours, a community organizer, a veteran civil libertarian, the man who on day one headed up the resistance to the War Measures Act when it was not very popular to do so, formerly the associate secretary of the National Committee for Human Rights of the Canadian Labour Congress, formerly the Secretary of the Ontario Labour Committee for Human Rights, and now with the Civil Liberties Association, the general counsel of that association, our good friend Alan Borovoy.

MR. A. BOROVOY: The Canadian Labour Congress has made a marvelous choice. When I first heard that you had decided to give the award for outstanding service to humanity to the social justice team of Dan and Donna Hill, I was thrilled and doubly thrilled that I was the one who was called upon to make the introduction. There are probably at least three impressive reasons why this is such a marvelous choice.

First, of course, their immense and many contributions to the state of human rights in this country. Second, because in an age of divorce, or separation, of family breakdown, of the "me" generation, they are an inspiring example to all of us of what a marriage partnership can be in action. And third, because they symbolize one of the most glorious chapters of the labour movement in this country, its own immense, indispensable contribution to human rights. And I want to take these in reverse order and elaborate a little bit about each in its turn.

First, Dan and Donna Hill, as symbols of labour's tremendous contribution to human rights over the years. They got their human rights start in Canada in the old joint Labour Committee for Human Rights. That committee in so many ways was the key impetus behind almost all of the human rights legislation that exists on the statute books of this country today. It came about largely because the Labour Committee for Human Rights was organizing test cases, delegations to government, deputations, demonstrations, surveys — all of it — and that is the fruit. To honour Dan and Donna Hill is to honour the philosophy and tactics of the Labour Committee for Human Rights.

When I first started this work with the Labour Committee some 25 years ago, they taught me one of the key lessons I have never forgotten and it was essential to the philosophy of the labour movement's program in human rights. The way they cut through the confusion of the day in pointing out the distinction between human rights and brotherly love. Dan and Donna made it very clear that when they talked about human rights, they were not talking about brotherly love. They did not ask employers, for example, to like Blacks or like Jews or like Native people, they said to employers you hire the well qualified Blacks, Jews or Native people whether you like them or not.

Their concern was not with what you like, it is with what you do. It is not with how you feel, it is with how you behave. Now I do not want to suggest for one moment that Dan and Donna Hill were opposed to brotherly love, but they simply were not prepared to wait some thousands of years till that happy day, if ever it came, when all humans loved each other before they insisted that they play fair with one another in the here and now, today. That is the essence of the philosophy they practised, the labour movement they practised and, to my enduring gratitude, I learned at that time and at their feet.

That, of course, also led to the tactics of the Labour Committee for Human Rights. If you want to promote human rights, you have to be ready to make a fuss. As one of the trade union leaders of the day said, quiet diplomacy leads to one result: quiet non-compliance. To honour Dan and Donna Hill is to honour all of that. It is to honour the human rights pioneers of the labour movement. It is to honour Kalmen Kaplansky whom Dan named a number of years ago the "Grandfather of the Human Rights Movement" in this country, who was director of the Jewish Labour Committee in 1948; set up a network of labour committees for human rights across the country attached to the Provincial Federations of Labour, to municipal Labour Councils, to numbers of unions and to the two congresses then operating at the federal level. And it is also to honour the late Eamon Park who, no matter how busy he was as Assistant National Director of the United Steelworkers, as the federal president of the New Democratic Party, and even as a legislator himself, always found the time to give intelligent, creative and dedicated leadership to the Labour Committee for Human Rights. And it is to honour the Bromley Armstrongs, the Terry Meaghers, it is to honour the late Syd Blum whose aggressive tactics finally smashed one of the most resistant colour bars in this country, Dresden, Ont., in the 1950s. And it is to honour a somewhat obscure if rather mouthy UAW staff representative whom you have come to know as Dennis McDermott, also a rather active member of the Labour Committee for Human Rights in those years. You know how our Brother McDermott's propensity for profanity has so eloquently served the cause of labour!

Well, let me tell you how it also served the cause of human rights. Invariably, when we would have a human rights conference in the labour movement, one of the delegates would stand up to ask the ultimate offensive question and he would put it and of course, he would think this was a show-stopping question, he would look at McDermott in the eye after McDermott had been lecturing on human rights and he would say to him with great satisfaction: "How would you like it if your sister married a Black man" to which Dennis McDermott would just as invariably reply: "I would not wish that bitch on anybody!" Not to be guilty of any secrecy, I just said to him "I'll never forget it, baby."

I go from there to how Dan and Donna have symbolized and must symbolize all of this to you, to how they inspire us as a marriage partnership in action. Long before the days of women's liberation, their marriage embodies a commitment to equality of the spouses. So involved are these two people and have they always been with each other's ideals and activities, that any who have known them have found it very difficult to figure out where one stops and the other starts though, for the past number of years Dan has been the more public of the two, Donna somewhat more in the background. Dan was just named the third Ombudsman for the Province of Ontario. Prior to that, he was the Chairman of the Ontario Human Rights Commission and before that the first Director of that Commission and indeed the first director of any government Human Rights Commission in this country.

During the period between the time he left the Human Rights Commission, back in mid-1974 and in the recent last few months when he was sworn in as Ombudsman, Dan and Donna operated a private human rights consulting firm called "Daniel G. Hill & Associates" and, of course, you would not be surprised to know that the leading associate was Donna Hill, but it was not always this way. In the 1950s, Donna was the public personality and Dan was more in the background. Donna then was the public personality at the joint labour committee to combat racial intolerance which became known as the Joint Labour Committee for Human Rights. She was the public figure who started the job of integrating the railways and who took on the Liquor Licence Board and other establishments, other government institutions to make anti-discrimination a reality in their policies, and all of that she was doing in the forefront with Dan at her side.

The reciprocity of this relationship indeed goes right back to the time they got married. They may be surprised to learn, as I tell you this, that once you tell me something it somehow gets salted away and I trot it out at a time like this. But when they were married, they insisted on writing their own marriage ceremony and instructed the minister, who happened to be Dan's father, to perform it the way they wrote it. This practice may be better known today, but then it was not. Their wedding ceremony was a tribute to human dignity, equality and social justice and Dan and Donna have been writing their own rules every since.

I come now to what is perhaps the most important of the reasons we are honouring them, their own immense contributions to human rights. When Dan was sworn in as the Ombudsman for Ontario, he said that he hoped his term of office would feature a multicultural blend of characteristics. He wanted it to have four characteristics: chutzpah, sweat, élan and soul. Well, since Dan wants to write his own — I almost said epitaph — since Dan wants to be judged by those standards, it is fair that we try to judge the both of them by those standards. And I want to tell you a little bit about the performance of Dan and Donna Hill with reference to chutzpah to sweat, to élan and to soul.

CHUTZPAH: First to chutzpah, I hardly need say is that delightful Yiddish word which roughly means gall, nerve, daring. A human rights activist has to have a lot of chutzpah. Let me tell you something about the Hill chutzpah. A number of years ago, when Dan was the Director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, he was proceeding against a boat-house owner in Chatham, Ontario. This boat-house owner had refused to rent boats to Blacks for fishing. What a Black is supposed to do to a boat, I am not sure! But, he would not rent to them and, as always, Dan set up a board of inquiry with a courtroom filled with people who were angered over the colour bar in that boat-house and during the course of the testimony that the boat-house owner was giving, he was being cross-examined by the counsel for the complainants who was pummelling him with questions and in the middle of it, the boat-house owner threw up his hands and he said "All right, I will take them". You can imagine how disappointed Dan was. He had a whole courtroom filled with people looking for revenge and this guy surrendered before he was supposed to! They went into the judge's chamber in the back and arranged for some of the Blacks to put deposits down on boats so that they could arrange to go fishing from that point until the end of the season. Some of the Blacks told Dan that they did not like fishing. Dan told them they had to go fishing!

Dan Hill is not selective about his chutzpah. He is prepared to impose on anybody without regard to race, creed or colour, whether they are the victims or the perpetrators of discrimination. And, of course, there were parties of Blacks going fishing at that place from that point until the end of the season.

Another example of the Hill chutzpah created a precedent in this country. A number of years ago, a Black woman approached the Ontario Human Rights Commission while Dan was Director and she complained that she had been unable to get a job with an American exhibitor who was advertising at a trade fair. By the time the case came to the Commission, the American exhibitor was just about to go home so there was no way the usual techniques of the Commission could work. There was no point in getting the woman a job, the job was over. There was no point in getting a promise from the exhibitor that he would never do it again because he was going home and he would be immune from any undertaking he gave. So, the idea was hit on to try to get some money from him to compensate the Black woman for the inconvenience she had incurred. At the time, there was not one word in any of the statutes about a requirement to give money, but that, of course, does not deter someone who has chutzpah. Dan sat down with the American exhibitor and he said to him "I think you should compensate this woman, it is only fair". The exhibitor dug into his pocket and pulled out $20. Dan, with a perfectly straight face said to the man: "I don't think that's good enough." And it went up to $40. and to $60. and to $100. I was there and I could not keep a straight face — by the time they were through Dan had secured somewhere between $100 and $200 for the woman. It became a widespread news story and the Ontario Legislature enacted into law that financial compensation will be available to victims of racial discrimination. Other provinces have since followed suit.

SWEAT: Behind or beneath that very calm, gentle exterior, there lies in both Dan and Donna Hill a tenacious determination. Let me tell you something about that from the career of Donna Hill. As Secretary of the Labour Committee for Human Rights, she was not very happy in the 1950s that the Liquor Licence Board of Ontario was somewhat less than forthcoming about its willingness to impose sanctions on licensed establishments that practised racial discrimination. Donna Hill would simply brook no equivocation and she started to pursue the Liquor Licence Board. She started to suspect, also, that there was a club serving the public in Toronto that discriminated against Blacks so she sent her husband Dan and UAW 439 member Bromley Armstrong into the place, followed by the likes of Dennis McDermott. The Black test members were told "Sorry, you have to be a member in order to get in here and we are already out of memberships, they are not available." Dennis McDermott who had never been there, was not a member, walked in on paying a simple token payment and was admitted. Donna took that evidence to the Liquor Licence Board and she was met with technicalities, one problem after another. You know that the legal profession has a tremendous amount of ingenuity when it comes to creating technicalities out of ordinary human problems. I say this as a somewhat, I suppose, dubious member of that profession myself. She was met with one technicality after another. Many people in that situation would simply give up, but not Donna Hill. She turned around and tested them again, brought it back and was met with more technicalities and she went back and she tested them again and again and again. She was prepared to embarrass the club and the Board and to harass the hell out of both of them and I think it is fair to say that, out of the determination that she showed, she laid the groundwork for what very soon afterwards became another amendment to the Human Rights laws of this country, making racial discrimination in public places an offence under the law. Much of the credit for that goes to the kind of sweat exerted by Donna Hill, as Secretary of the Labour Committee for Human Rights.

ÉLAN: I go from sweat to "élan", that marvelous French word for flair, for panache. Let me tell you something about the Hill élan. When Dan was Director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission, a newspaper carried a story that there has been a Ku Klux Klan cross-burning in a Southwestern Ontario community. Dan flew to the area and, after a short investigation, it became very clear that that cross-burning was the work not of Klan men but of pranksters. Now a bureaucrat in Dan Hill's position would have simply said to the community, "Sorry, nothing doing" and he would have gone home. A demagogue in Dan Hill's position would have fanned the fears and the rage of the Black community with all kinds of wild accusations but Dan Hill is neither bureaucrat nor demagogue. With the backdrop of the political climate created by that incident, he sat down with the mayor of that community, persuaded him to create a mayor's committee on race relations and that committee set about the task — successful I may add — of finding jobs for young Black people in that community in places where they had never before worked. I am citing only one example of the Hill élan. I can assure you that there are all kinds of others indeed; that was a permanent ongoing feature of their work.

SOUL: I go from élan to soul, the Black term for feeling, for sensitivity, for having the kind of concern about other people that you notice problems that human beings are having that other people simply do not notice. I go right back to the time that Dan and Donna Hill lived in Newmarket, Ont. You picked up a newspaper and you would see a letter written by Dan and Donna Hill about a disreputable practice that was being engaged in by reputable people. A number of charitable organizations, service clubs and others, were raising money for their favorite charities with minstrel shows. It had never occurred to the well-intentioned charitable clubs, as of course it had occurred to the sensitive Dan and Donna Hill, that minstrel shows tend to denigrate Black people. They saw problems where other people did not. When Dan was the race relations advisor to the Canadian Civil Liberties Association in the 1970s, and I went to him and I said give me some ideas as to where we should be pouring our energy, so far as racial problems are concerned, Dan said to me that he had never seen a non-white firefighter in the City of Toronto. Sure enough we did a test and found that there were only two at that time, out of more than 1,100 and that resulted in a lot of changes in personnel practices at City Hall. Dan, sensitive to the problems of immigrant people, set up services for working people, a multi-service store-front operation to help people, who feel uncomfortable, navigate their way through the vast government bureaucracy and he brought that same soul and sensitivity to the North country where you have the native people living on reserves so he created a mobile office on the back of a jeep that would travel from reserve to reserve, offering the unique services of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. All of this, a tribute to the imaginative sensitivity and soul of Dan and Donna Hill.

And so we come here today to honour the chutzpah, the sweat, the élan, the soul of Dan and Donna Hill. We honour them for the example they set for us of a marriage partnership in action, and we honour them for the symbol they are to us of one of the most glorious chapters of the performance of organized labour in this country. We honour Dan and Donna Hill for all of these things. A commentator once observed that an idealist is a person who has both feet firmly planted in the air. Dan and Donna Hill have their heads, yes their heads in the clouds, but their feet very much on the ground.

Walter Tarnopolsky, a justice of the Ontario Court of Appeal, has said that the ideal human rights activist requires an iron fist in a velvet glove. There has to be the outer gentleness of conciliation combined with the inner toughness of enforcement. I can think of no two people I know who more aptly fit that description. We are talking about two people who are very, very gentle, Dan and Donna Hill. They are gentle with each other, with their children, with their friends and initially even with their adversaries. But if those adversaries persist in violating human rights, Dan and Donna Hill can be as tough as nails, you better believe it. And so, we come here to honour and I can say now to you, brothers and sisters, I am happy and proud to present to you two iron fists in velvet gloves, the social justice team of Dan and Donna Hill. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The text on the award reads as follows:

> "'What we desire for ourselves, we wish for all. To this end, may we take our share of the world's work and the world's struggle'.
> J.S. Woodsworth.
> "Presented to Daniel and Donna Hill by the Canadian Labour Congress in recognition of a lifelong and continuing commitment to racial equality, social justice and human dignity. Their achievements have given us that courage and conviction that can overcome ignorance and prejudice. The advancement of the human family is our common cause."
> In the name of labour, presented to both Dan and Donna.

MS. D. HILL: Mr. Chairman, President, brothers and sisters, Dan and I are honoured and extremely grateful to all of you in the Canadian Labour Congress for bestowing this award upon us. It is almost unreal to be elevated on this occasion to the level of the previous recipients: Tommy Douglas, David Lewis, Stanley Knowles and Grace MacInnis. You might suspect that we will accept the awards and then sit back in our rocking chairs for the rest of our days. On the contrary, now we shall have to work harder than ever, because we will never feel we really deserved this great esteem. We are especially proud of the award because it comes from the Canadian Labour Congress, a major leader always in the human rights movement. Needless to say, this honour is mine and ours, not only because of my effort but due to the friends and colleagues who encouraged, supported and often taught me. So, I must pause and pay tribute first to Kalmen Kaplansky, Director of the Jewish Labour

Committee of Canada headquartered here in Montreal. Kalmen breathed life into the first Labour Committee for Human Rights, the first official labour body ever in Canada concerned with the problems of bigotry and discrimination. Another co-worker was that most good remarkable human being, Eamon Park of the Steelworkers, how we miss him! Also, Harry Simon, Stan Russell, Bromley Armstrong, Gordon Milling and a great many of you all there who I worked with back then. Not to mention a young Dennis McDermott, an employee at Massey-Harris and an officer in his UAW Local. Dennis was in this cause from the ground floor and has always stayed with it and when I mean the ground floor, I mean sometimes lower. Back in the 1950s, those of us working in race relations, as it was then called, were very young, remarkably optimistic and confident that the many problems of bigotry and discrimination could easily be solved. If we could just persuade all the many levels of government to pass fair practice laws, a new era would automatically be ushered in. Well, we and those who followed us, including Syd Blum and Alan Borovoy, succeeded. I think Al wore them all down actually, to the point where all provinces and the federal government have passed human rights legislation and set up the bureaucracies to administer their programs. An impressive coalition of organizations, labour, religious, voluntary and the many racial and ethnic groups, had all worked together and achieved our goal. The coalition then dissolved, alas, not realizing its work would be needed more than ever. After a few years, we came to realize how naive our earlier optimism had been. Programs run by governments just cannot ever do the whole job. Today in these perilous times, we witness a retrenchment on the part of human rights organizations to the detriment of women and minorities, native people, Asians, Blacks, the handicapped, all of whom need our support.

At breakfast today, I read an article in *La Presse* about the rise of racism in Canada. Consider the struggle of the Haïtian taxi drivers to get and keep jobs in this City of Montreal; who at this point is working with them in their struggle? Look at the cancerous Keegstra affair in Alberta. For ten years, that teacher taught hatred before one mother blew the whistle on him. Even then, nothing would have changed except for the world-wide publicity. Look at the hysterical backlash against francophones in Manitoba, not to mention the social and economic disasters of the Bennett Government in B.C.

My friends, we are in effect back at square one, we need your renewed leadership, zest and enthusiasm to help revive the old labour spearheaded coalitions. Let us bring together as many non-government and volunteer organizations as possible, as they had to start doing in B.C. already. In a fresh attack on the problems confronting us today, let us commit ourselves and our organizations to a nitty-gritty sort of human rights program and truly make this country of ours an example of equality for all people.

It is a pleasure to be here today with my brothers and sisters in the labour movement, again I thank the Canadian Labour Congress, all of you, for this award which I will treasure highly. I assure you that I am deeply touched.

MR. D. HILL: It is a tough act to follow my wife. All my life, she is a tough one to follow! Dennis, Alan, distinguished members of the CLC, brothers and sisters, and I can call you brothers and sisters because I am an old CIO-AFL boilermaker, riveters' helper and an electric arc-welder. Only one problem, I fear for those ships that I welded during the Second World War! I think most of them went down. Donna and I are deeply honoured to be the recipients of the Canadian Labour Congress' prestigious Award for "Outstanding Service to Humanity". When I recall the previous recipients of this distinguished award, Tommy Douglas and David Lewis, Stanley Knowles and Grace MacInnis, people who have contributed so much to this country, I feel very humble and yet, very proud. Each such honour adds its intrinsic gratification to the personal satisfaction of a job well done, the pleasure of recognition by colleagues and observers. That is the easy part. But with every such honour comes a hard part and that is the responsibility of living up to it.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the Canadian Labour Congress for this great honour and as well for a much earlier award, one that was conferred at the beginning of my career. In fact, it was before your existence, before the merger of the Trades and Labour Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labour. It was 1951 and I was finishing my master's degree in sociology at the University of Toronto. I was living on a shoestring and close to my wits' end trying to get funds to finish that year when the labour movement came to my rescue and gave me the Sydney Hillman Award. It was substantial enough to get me through my academic course and I will always be grateful for labour for helping me in those lean university years. But also, at this point, I would like to acknowledge your role in promoting human dignity and social justice. Protecting human rights has been a traditional role for the labour movement. You are Canada's major labour body and your network of affiliates has given the humble voice of the ordinary worker a power and force to be reckoned with. I applaud the work of your movement in the areas of equal opportunity for women and equal opportunity for visible minorities. I applaud your fight for the right to a safe and healthy environment for all workers and I too commend you on your resolution on human rights issued at this Convention. It is excellent and most comprehensive. But, as every worker who has toiled in the field of human rights knows, the job is never done. We have not yet reached the promised land of the just society and we will not reach that land until men and women are not only created equal, but also are treated equally and their rights fully respected.

Today, we witness the presence and work of Human Rights Commissions throughout the country and their establishment in no small measure, and I mean no small measure, can be attributed to the labour movement and its allies, Kalmen Kaplansky, Syd Blum, Donna, Bromley Armstrong, Alan Borovoy and your President, Dennis McDermott, have fought vigorous battles against racism and discrimination for well over 30 years and a legacy is with us never, never ever to be forgotten.

I well recall when I was appointed Director of the Ontario Human Rights Commission in 1962, the first in Canada. We had a new Human Rights Code and a staff of one, me, and few resources. Furthermore, no one really knew how to administer legislation. I was flying by the seat of my pants. Fortunately, Syd Blum, then the Executive Director of the Jewish Labour Committee working with Alan Borovoy, submitted a brief on how to administer the Ontario Human Rights Code. That magnificently written document became my guide. The brief not only served as my instruction manual but also soon became the administrative blueprint for all other Human Rights Commissions in this country, all ten of them. But time did not stand still. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, we witnessed the waves of immigrants coming to our shore from Africa, from Asia and from the Caribbean and we also witnessed the new waves of racism, discrimination and prejudice. Those old corrosive forces inevitably tested the strength of our bonds as brothers, sisters and fellow citizens. Human rights issues from the past are still with us; the treatment of visible minorities, women's rights, francophones' rights and the rights of the disabled, to mention just a few, a very few as well. Who is there now to ensure that the Human Rights Commissions that labour started are doing an effective job? Who indeed is checking on them? In this regard, I would recommend that you team up with the Canadian Civil Liberties Association and review intensively the work of Human Rights Commissions across this land. They must be reviewed; they must be looked at to see if they are serving the public adequately.

I believe there is a vacuum here which calls out to be filled, a void which the traditional role of the labour movement might well address. It is time to roll up our sleeves once again and revitalize the fair practices committees from the past, to develop more relevant testing techniques, to use the tools and skills which have served so long and so well. I am sure you will agree that resting on the laurels of the past does not meet the critical issues of the present. It has been mentioned that I recently started a new job. You know, I had just passed my sixtieth birthday when the government and the legislature asked me to become Ontario's third Ombudsman. I am somewhat reminded of the father who asked his young son just what he wanted to be when he grew up. To his great surprise, his son replied that his intention was to be a school crossing guard and his dad said; "Don't you aspire to anything more than that? Why a school crossing guard?" And the son replied: "Because you don't have to start working until you are 65!"

As Ombudsman for the province of Ontario, it is my role to inform the people of their rights with respect to provincial authorities and to protect those rights when they are threatened. Although I have not long been in this position, I am already convinced that the Ombudsman concept is essential machinery in the protection of human rights, but like all machinery, you can get rusty without constant care. Here I invite labour to make submissions to my office, to use your techniques to assist us, to keep us on our toes so that we too will be as effective as we can. As I have said before, there is still much work to be done. One area where the Ombudsman will make a special effort is in the realm of Native rights. I need not remind you that before any of us came to this country, the Native people were here. Perhaps none of us would be here today, if they had not taught the early settlers survival techniques in a different climate. As well, their lives provided an example of co-operation. They fought beside us and helped to keep this country secure in some of our most difficult periods. But it is an insult, an insult, to the collective conscience of Canada to witness the appalling poverty and consequent despair that is the lot of many Native Canadians. For example, at this very time Native leaders are protesting the deplorable condition of schools in the province of Manitoba. Therefore, I invite and urge you to continue to use your good offices to address, as you have done in your current statement on human rights, the whole spectrum of issues that affect Native people. And I call upon you to urge the creation of a federal Ombudsman's Office, an office that could make a tremendous impact in protection of Nativie rights. This is a burning issue, one which we should consider. From the hindsight of history, one lesson is clear; so long as the rights of even one are abused, abridged or abrogated, then the dignity and freedom of all is in peril. Again, I thank you for the honour you have bestowed upon me and I urge you to continue in a vigorous pursuit of social justice and equality of opportunity throughout this great land.

CHAIRMAN: (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. As I said before, the other prominent member of the family, Dan junior, came all the way in from California so he could be here with his parents today. I am going to call on Dan to say a couple of words to us also.

MR. D. HILL Jr.: Well, public speaking is not one of my talents, I must warn you ahead of time, so I will be brief. I would like to thank Dennis McDermott and the CLC for inviting me all the way up here to witness this very, very proud moment. I am very, very proud of my parents and, of course, have been for as long as I can remember. As a child, one sort of relates to parents a lot more as human beings and looks at them more in a human way than in terms of what they do politically, and, of course, there is a point when politics overlaps into humanity and that is what we all aim for. But I have always been very impressed and very touched by how well they have interacted. My father always taught me what it was like to be a Black man and my mother always taught me what it was like to be a man and it was that kind of a combination of learning that I think was so vital and so valuable for the children of our family and hopefully for the people of Canada. Also, of course, it was when they disagreed that things often would be very exciting. I can remember when I had one of my many childhood battles with my father about whether or not I should be a musician. I think I was about 15 and he said you should have something to fall back on, in which case, instead of pretending to be a crossing guard, I said I would be a mattress salesman. He was so upset by my impudence that he took away my guitar which, of course, was the worst thing he could do for me. My mother responded by not sleeping with him for the night and the next morning miraculously my guitar was back in my closet! It was that kind of a current, that kind of chemistry that kept our family so exciting and kept ideas flying back and forth. Again, I would like to stress that I am very, very proud of them and I am very touched that the CLC would ask me to come here.

They asked me to perform and ironically enough I would have loved to but this is not a union hall! Anyway, I would like to thank everybody for having me here and let everyone know how proud and touched I am for my parents on this and many other occasions.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. Bob White now will go over the remainder of the agenda for today. Meanwhile, we should be now in the process of distributing the new paper on Economic Policy.

MR. R. WHITE (CLC, General Vice-President): Before the lunch adjournment, we were trying to lay out the committees that we hoped would report for the balance of the day. We now have just received from the printers the revised version of the Economic Policy Committee report. We will deal with that now and read the new statement, and provided we have some time, we will then move into the Technological Change Committee. This evening, we will go into the Organization Committee, the Constitution Committee Report, the General Resolutions Committee Report and the Union Label Committee Report; and, for the brother that raised the question about the International Affairs Committee Report, we intend to put that on tomorrow morning following the Report on Government Employees.

ECONOMIC POLICY COMMITTEE

MR. D. MARTIN (Economic Policy Committee Chairman): The Committee took the recommendations of the referral on Document 23 and added a considerable amount to it in line with the instructions of the referral. So what you have before you now is an addition to the Economic Policy Statement, *United Towards a Working Recovery*, which was presented to you on behalf of the Executive Council. This *Action Plan to Promote Jobs and Justice*, Document 29, replaces the section "The Task We Face" in Document 23:

AN ACTION PLAN TO PROMOTE JOBS AND JUSTICE

"Working people know the pain and suffering of the depression. We see it every day, in devastated communities, in families and individuals destroyed by unemployment and the indignity of welfare and poverty. Many of us look to the future with fear and uncertainty, even if we are still working. We know that trade unions have been attacked and basic rights swept away by governments and corporations using the depression as a cloak for their attacks on working people and their freedoms.

"To confront the crisis, the Canadian labour movement must rededicate itself to fighting back. Our opponents are determined, they are powerful, they will not give up. Let this Convention carry the message to all: we too are determined, we are united, we will not lose this battle for our future.

"Let this Convention carry the message to all that the movement for social and economic change will not end until we have achieved a society where full employment and justice are guaranteed for all.

"In solidarity, and in the spirit of the actions we have already begun, we commit ourselves to the following action plan:

1. Shorter work time with no loss in pay

"The CLC will work with its affiliates, labour councils and federations to develop a co-ordinated bargaining and political agenda centered on shorter working time, with no loss in pay, including reduced work hours, paid educational leave, job retraining, earlier retirement and better pensions, and a ban on overtime. The Congress will co-ordinate, and support with its resources, a collective bargaining strategy based on reduced work time, with no loss in pay, encourage all of its members and affiliates to work for its success, and initiate a major educational program to convince Canadians of the importance of reduced work time with no loss in pay to their social and economic future. A national campaign to force a legislative ban on overtime will be a major part of this strategy.

2. Affirmative Action

"The Canadian Labour Congress will initiate a wider campaign to demand legislative action, immediately, at all levels of government, to guarantee women their fair share of the economic and social rewards of our society. It will continue to promote the inclusion of affirmative action programs in collective bargaining, and will assist its affiliates to develop a strong, co-ordinated and detailed agenda which puts affirmative action at the heart of our bargaining strategy. Women's issues will be fully integrated into all educational and policy materials produced for the CLC's ongoing campaign.

3. Unemployed Action Centres

"Many unemployed action centres have already been set up to counsel the unemployed and to offer them financial, emotional and other support in their search for jobs. The Canadian Labour Congress will provide educational and organizational resources to affiliates, labour councils and federations who wish to set up unemployed action centres and will work to see that they are a success.

4. High Interest Rates

"The Canadian Labour Congress will continue to carry the message across Canada that high interest rates are a major sickness in our society. It will continue to press for lower interest rates, for controls on the banks and other financial institutions, and for public ownership of the banks. The Canadian Labour Congress is committed to working with and supporting the Canadian Farm Survival Association and other like-minded groups that formed the Coalition Against High Interest Rates. We will fight mortgage foreclosures on farms, homes and small businesses.

5. Concessions

"We reiterate our commitment to continue the fight against concessions and rollbacks, in whatever form. We will continue to fight against wage controls, which are concessions in another form. The events of the past two years have proven that concessions provide no job security, save no jobs, create no jobs. We take pride in the fact that we have resisted concessions and controls, as a united labour movement. We commit ourselves now, as a united labour movement, to take the lessons learned in our battle, and use them to make real progress for working women and men.

6. Social Justice

"Medicare and other basic social programs are too important to be tampered with by governments. They must not be allowed to die. We will work to have extra-billing and user fees outlawed across Canada. All levels of the labour movement must demand that the attack on our basic social programs end, that social programs be extended and strengthened. All levels of the labour movement must be united in our determination to defend public services and programs against privatization, contracting out, cutbacks in the level of services and right wing moves to deregulate important sectors of our economy. We will work to have unemployment insurance strengthened and extended so that no unemployment person suffers because of the failure of the government to achieve full employment.

7. Organizing the Unorganized

"Organizing the unorganized must be a major focus for each of our affiliates. The Canadian Labour Congress will provide as many resources as possible to wage a major campaign to organize the unorganized and bring them into the House of Labour. Only when the benefits of full collective bargaining are extended to all workers will there be real justice in our land.

8. Community Action

"We commit ourselves to a campaign at the community, provincial and federal levels to mobilize workers, the unemployed and all those victimized by the economic crisis, around the need for full employment. We will promote local campaigns to identify unfilled needs, economic opportunities and local projects that will create jobs, and enrich life at the community level. At the provincial level we will assist federations in developing 'solidarity coalitions' to reverse anti-worker economic and social policies and place labour's program on the political agenda. We commit ourselves to a March for Jobs campaign, which will make every Canadian aware that full employment is the major priority of this nation. Plans of action in this March for Jobs campaign will include marches, rallies, meetings and action to lobby governments at all levels on the right of full employment. The March for Jobs campaign will involve workers and others marching, to show their unity and solidarity in the face of the economic crisis and their absolute determination to settle for nothing less than full employment.

9. Political Action

"We dedicate ourselves to working with our political ally, the New Democratic Party. The need for an industrial strategy centered on full employment through public planning, public investment and public intervention in economic decision-making has never been greater. We will work for the election of governments dedicated to full employment, and for the defeat of governments which have shown that full employment and the economic welfare of working people is not their first priority.

"Only a strong and united labour movement can prevent the destruction and rot which has set in our society. We must be absolutely and totally committed to this program of action to obtain jobs and justice for Canadians. We can put Canada back to work again. We can rebuild the faith of Canadians. United, we have the power to do it. Let us leave this convention committed, determined, united in our battle for justice and jobs."

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Executive Council, I move concurrence in the total report as amended; seconded by R. McGarry, Committee Secretary. That covers resolutions Ec. 2, 4, 6, 12, 15-21, 25, 26, 30-32, 34, 38, 41, 59, 62, 70, 74-77, 80, 88, 93, 96 and 99.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. Montgomery, Secretary-Treasurer): The motion is to adopt the Committee's Report covering the resolutions cited.

MR. R. BARRY (UE, President): The delegates on Monday afternoon in speaking to the policy paper, made known to the Executive Council their discontent with the policy paper that was presented to at that time. We have shown, through the participation of the delegates and the contributions they made on the microphone in speaking to that policy paper, that democracy can work within this organization. The fact that the policy paper has been amended is a reflection of that democracy. The Executive Council should be commended for responding to the request of the delegates in speaking to that policy paper.

Certainly the addendum adds a lot of strength, it adds a plan of action. It is not perhaps as precise as some of the delegates would like in setting out a concrete timetable. However, the policy paper as it is now amended is certainly a fair improvement over the policy paper we had the other day. Brother White, in speaking yesterday on the constitutional resolutions, spoke to the question of the need for building up our financial resources to carry on the types of action campaigns that we have envisaged here in the program. That was endorsed by the delegates. The delegates to this Convention have given the Congress leadership the wherewithal to engage in these types of action campaigns that we have been speaking about. We now have the plan of action. It is up to the Congress leadership now and up to the delegates and each of us in our affiliated organizations to get behind this program, to unite around this program and let us put this program to work. Certainly the Congress leadership will not do it without the help of the rank-and-file and without the help of the affilaites and the leadership of the affiliates.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): The *Globe and Mail* reported after the first day of the Convention that the Economic Policy statement had been sent back because of a groundswell of militancy on the convention floor and that this was a big defeat for the establishment. I want to ask the rank-and-filers to think seriously about this. How can it be that the program of the establishment and the program of the opposition are the same? This is not the case, because this shorter work week is not going to provide a single new job but it is going to increase the exploitation of the workers. Now, just take the figures that the NDP is putting forward as one example, because there are many different formulas. According to this, the productivity of the workers has to increase by three per cent a year for the next ten years. That is a 30 per cent increase in productivity. The hours of work will go down by 20 per cent. What will happen, as a result of this, is that, through the sweat and blood of the workers, through the injuries to our health, the productivity of the workers will be increased. It will bring more profits to employers. They will use these profits not to create jobs, they will use these profits to retool, to modernize, to rationalize and to throw the redundant workers out onto the streets and this is not a program to create new jobs. We cannot win the fight for jobs for every worker by having a formula. We cannot win this fight except through the most difficult struggles and it is not the case that the establishment has been defeated by bringing back this policy.

When the fever of the Convention is over and people go back to their locals they have to really think about this. How are the workers going to fight for jobs? It is suggested here that this is realistic. Why is it not more realistic that we should put forward a demand for jobs or full compensation for every worker? You can actually figure out the statistics and find out it would be cheaper than to institute work because it is being presented with no loss in pay which is just pie in the sky. So workers cannot believe that these formulas are going to bring a solution. It is only the mass struggles of the workers which are going to win the rights to jobs. It is only those struggles which can succeed and not these tricks which are being presented. So I would vote against this revised resolution because it is not a solution to the problems facing the workers.

MR. J. FRYER (NUPGE, President): I support Document 29, the revised *Action Plan on Jobs and Justice*. Specifically, I want to talk about the shorter work week. In that regard, I will give a free plug to the guy that sold me this button for one dollar which says "35 in 85", I think it is a very fine slogan. I want to talk to you about not only achieving the shorter work week, because in my home union in British Columbia, we did that, but I want to talk to you also about holding onto the shorter work week. Our experience is that it is harder to hold onto it than it was to get it in the first place. We got the shorter work week in British Columbia in the years 1972 to 1975, when there was a New Democratic Party administration in power in our province. In 1974, we went to the bargaining table and we reduced the work week for blue collar workers from 40 hours a week to 37½ hours a week. In 1975, we went to the bargaining table and we reduced the work week for our clerical workers from 36 hours and 40 minutes to 35 hours, and we further reduced the work week of our blue collar workers from 37½ to 35. There were sacrifices because when you get the shorter work week with no reduction in take-home pay, employers, even NDP employers, try to suggest that your hourly rate of pay went up and the membership of the British Columbia Government Employees' Union still, to this day, works a 35-hour week.

But it has been hard hanging onto it. They have had to fight Bill Bennett on the streets in 1982 and again in 1983, in order to hang on to that 35-hour week. Now another key item in achieving a shorter work week is that a shorter work week does not mean reducing the week in your collective agreement from 40 hours to 35 and then have everybody work five hours at time and a half or double time. That is not a shorter work week. And, while the report speaks about relying on legislation for a ban on overtime, my union in British Columbia put a clause in the collective agreement that gives every single worker the right to refuse any overtime at all. When you go for the shorter work week you have to go for a clause at the same time that gives you that right to refuse overtime. And once you get that clause, you have to police it through your stewards and your local officers on a daily basis, because, if we get a shorter week and all it means is that the same number of people stay employed but they each get a lot more overtime, then we have achieved nothing.

In that regard, I am reminded of Silby Barrett, the former leader of the Mine Workers in Cape Breton, because if we get a shorter work week and we are still working overtime, then your collective agreements will become what Silby Barrett used to call "verbal agreements — not worth the paper they are written on."

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT & GW, Local 67): What we are talking about here is the program that we are to take back to the workers and call on them to fight for the next two years, so we should be very careful when we deliberate on this. What does this program do? What does it call on the workers to do? This program does not call any workers to fight. This program has nothing to do with leading the day-to-day struggles of the workers, the struggles for jobs, the struggles for decent wages and working conditions and does not assist at all in the long-term struggle of the workers for socialism. Instead, it calls on the workers to give up these struggles and to make sacrifices, to give up part of their day and in this way to solve the problem of unemployment.

I have nothing against workers making sacrifices. It is very important that workers make sacrifices, but the question that we have to ask ourselves is what kind of sacrifices and in whose interest? In the struggle against unemployment it is going to be a bloody struggle, it is a hard struggle because it is a struggle which pits in this society two colossal forces against each other and in that struggle and in that fight, that there will be sacrifices and there will be losses. It is not an easy struggle and anybody who tells you that it will be easy is misleading you, but that is what that document says. It says that this is an easy solution to unemployment. There is a trick, there is a gimmick and that gimmick is the shorter work week, that if the workers give up just some of their working time and share the available jobs then the problem of unemployment can be solved.

But the shorter work week will not create any jobs but it will result in the further intensification of our labour at the workplace. You will find that we will be required to do the same amount of work in a shorter period of time and the only one that will benefit will be the employers with increased profits and the millions of unemployed will still be on the streets. This is unacceptable and equally unacceptable is anyone who comes and tells us that three per cent or four per cent unemployment is acceptable. Our demand is for jobs for all; and we should be prepared to spare no effort and no sacrifice in this fight. Our program has to be a fighting program for jobs. This program is not that, it demands sacrifices of workers, sacrifices of workers that will directly benefit the employers and not us. When the capitalists shut down a plant, like they did with Kimberley Clark in Winnipeg, we should fight them tooth-and-nail with all the strength we have. How dare the CLC and the leadership of the union stand by with equanimity while production is carried on in a plant one thousand miles away. It is here that the workers should make their sacrifices. We should use the mighty collective action of the labour movement against this employer and against the financial backers to prevent all these kinds of lay-offs and plant closures. These are the sacrifices that workers will make willingly because these are the sacrifices that are in the interests of the workers. They will never agree to sell their soul or to give up what they have fought for and won in order to assist the employers to patch up their system and recover their profits and no amount of gimmicks will convince them to do that.

MR. E. HALPIN (UAW, Local 2168): We should take a lesson from what the media did with the coverage of the first two days of the Convention. I went out of here on Monday night and I watched the news and it was exactly what I expected. They tried to show us as a labour movement divided because we disagreed on the methods of how to go about getting a recovery in this country and it says on the sign up there "United towards a working recovery".

Yesterday, we were united, and it was a sight to behold. It was a tremendous thing to see and to be part of this Convention when men and women stood together for affirmative action, and stood together for Ed Braodbent and the NDP. I waited to see what the media would do with that, you know what they did? They threw down the gauntlet to us, they threw down a challenge. They said it is fine for the CLC to go to the Convention and do this but they said to us we cannot deliver and when we pass this resolution unanimously and stand behind all of the other resolutions unanimously, that we will show them that we can deliver and we know how to fight and we know how to do it the same way we did in our concessions.

I get a little upset when I watch television. My son said to me: "Dad, you shouldn't watch the news, it's bad for you, you get too upset"; and I said: "Yes, son, and you know why I get upset? I get upset because I am the only one who is getting mad about all the things that are happening there and other people are not getting mad, the people who should be getting mad and voting out those right-wing governments and the right-wing parties that exist in this country."

To try to understand this, I took a look at the dictionary to see where we may have gone wrong and I took a look to see why we, the genuine left in this country, are not the choice of voters. The dictionary says that the left in political terms means that you fight for social and economic change. It says that the right describes the parties that oppose social and economic change. If they oppose social and economic change, that means they are in favour of high unemployment and we should not have much difficulty to go back to our respective locals and our respective unions and get them to support the policies of the left. I urge unanimous adoption of this resolution and I ask that you go back united and show a united front and we will win and we will survive.

MR. R. WHITE (UAW, Canadian Director): I want to tell the two sisters who spoke on mike 3 and mike 5 that your program is designed to discourage workers from fighting for shorter work time not to encourage them and you should go out and touch the workers once in a while.

I think it is important for us to realize that the problems that we face in this country were not created by workers and we do not have all of the answers to the solutions that will get us out of this economic mess. There are some things that we can do when we look at our power within the trade union movement. This paper outlines some important positions and some important programs for us in the immediate future. The first thing we have to understand, is that unemployment is a No. 1 problem facing people not only in Canada but indeed around the world. Unemployment affects everything we do in the labour movement. It affects our ability to make progress at the bargaining table. It encourages employers to attack us on our current wages and benefits. It encourages governments to go after the social services and the important social programs in this country, what we have been through in the last three years or four years as a result of deliberate government manipulation of our economy.

This paper attempts to set out a reasonable plan of action. I want to talk a little bit about the matter of work-time. I do not think that we can pass a paper like this this afternoon and go out and negotiate a 35-hour work week tomorrow. If anybody tells you that in this room, then they have not been to a bargaining table. They do not realize what kind of an attack the employers and governments will put on us across this country. What the paper does say is that shorter work time is one part of an important program for creating jobs in this country and this labour movement will conduct a national campaign on shorter work time across this country. We all know that a lot of our members who have just returned to work after being laid off for one or two years, do not see shorter work time as an answer. I see this program as not much different from where we were in concessions two years ago. We have to look at the German metal workers on the fight for shorter work time. Within our own house we have to start carrying an important program to our membership to get them to understand that the fight for shorter work time, whether it be in the form of shorter work week or some other form is an important fight for the question of jobs for the future. We cannot have the mass technological revolution that is taking place across this country and other nations of the world and expect to continue the same hours of work and expect not to have massive unemployment. We can do it as a labour movement in this country because we have shown a resilience in our fights against the employers and governments.

We have to talk about an important conference to get work-time on the national agenda. We have to build work-time into all of our education programs. We have to conduct speaking forums all across the country to get workers to understand that shorter work-time is one important contribution to the question of job-creation. That goes hand-in-hand with political action, it goes hand-in-hand with stimulation of the economy. It goes hand-in-hand with tax reform and all the other important issues. And a union in this country will have to lead the fight. It may be the UAW or maybe the Steelworkers or the public sector workers. It will be like we did in concessions. The rest of the labour movement in this country will have to do as in West Germany today, dig into our pocket books, reach into our membership and say we stand in full solidarity with the pioneers of the labour movement in this country. We will have to go to a 1984/85 fight for a major reduction in work-time as our contribution to job-creation in this country. I have great faith in the men and women that work in the plants and offices in the public sector of this country. If we do an intelligent job of educating them and get them to understand and get the public to understand that this is not just a selfish time-off-a-job issue, this is about making a contribution to our country as well, then I believe our membership will stand with us and we can, as this labour movement, make important breakthroughs in the shorter work-time in the immediate future.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): I will test the House. All those in favour of the question now being put, please raise your hands. Down. Any opposed. The motion is carried. The question will now be put. The question is the adoption of the Committee's Report, all those in favour of adopting the Committee's Report, please show by raising your hand. Down. Those opposed. The motion is carried. Document 29 is adopted.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We have had a long and productive day, we have an evening session scheduled for 7:30, why do we not adjourn and be back here at 7:30 sharp.

The convention adjourned at 4:58 p.m.

WEDNESDAY MAY 30, 1984
Evening Session

The Convention was called to order at 7:45 p.m. President D. McDermott in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The Chairman of the Committee on Technological Change, Fred Pomeroy.

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE COMMITTEE

MR. F. POMEROY (Technological Change Committee Chairman): The Committee met to consider Resolutions T-1 to T-15 and Resolution EC-51 was referred from the Economic Policy Committee. The first item we will deal with is an Executive Council Policy Statement entitled Workers' Rights in the Silicon Age, Document 19, which covers Resolutions T-11, T-12 and T-14.

WORKERS' RIGHTS IN THE SILICON AGE

General Stance

1. "Technological change should bring positive developments for individuals and society. We should not fear automation nor lament the elimination of boring and dangerous jobs. But, to ensure that workers and society benefit from technological change, effective action by the labour movement is required now.

2. "We as a movement should have a clear plan identifying which jobs and industries should be automated; how technology should be applied; how technology can be used to create jobs; and how the benefits should be shared.

3. "In addition, we should be challenging our members, and the public at large, with the contrast between the magnificent potential of the new technologies and the present patterns of implementation which make workers and communities the victims of change.

4. "Unity is essential. We must forge new alliances to avoid the risk of social isolation. We must end the fragmentation of the labour movement. Mergers, coalitions and a more co-operative style of work are necessary to resolve jurisdictional disputes and face the future effectively.

5. "If unions are to influence the technological and structural changes occurring throughout the economy, we must show that we are effective in redistributing wealth.

6. "To accomplish this, unions must:

- Adapt to a changing structure of jobs with a minimum of jurisdictional dispute;
- Organize to maintain strength and influence;
- Revive within all levels of the membership the belief that progress through collective action is possible, by co-ordinating our efforts to win strategic battles.

Elements of a Technology Campaign

7. "To gain control over technological change, unions must get back to the basics — negotiate, educate and agitate. We should also make job design a key component in a campaign involving our members and addressing employers, governments and the public.

(1) Negotiate

8. "A broader bargaining agenda is needed, including such items as job content, paid educational leave, job re-training, reduced working hours, electronic surveillance and employment levels. We must co-ordinate efforts across the labour movement if we are to make the most of our negotiating gains as a platform from which to expand public education and political action. The first step in establishing a co-ordinated approach to bargaining is to develop a set of common bargaining demands and objectives. For co-ordinated bargaining to extend across affiliates, a pooling of resources should evolve, under CLC leadership.

9. "Conferences should be set up by the CLC to develop a consensus within the movement on the redistribution of available work. Further discussion is required to determine the most effective and appropriate ways for affiliates to reduce working time with no loss of pay within their sector and bargaining units; for example, through early retirement, shorter work-week, more paid leave, longer vacations, and so on.

10. "This means that the Congress should initiate and co-ordinate a collective bargaining campaign for reduced working time. Such a campaign must be accompanied by a public awareness program to:

(a) support the collective bargaining efforts of affiliates for reduced working time with no loss in pay;

(b) show how organized labour is assisting the unemployed through the job creation effects of reduced working time; and

(c) convince Canadians of the importance of this campaign to their economic and social futures.

(2) Educate

11. "A major educational drive on technological change should be led by the Congress — aimed first at our members, then at the public as a whole. Leaders in the trade union movement cannot be effective bargaining over tech change issues with employers and governments until we are all more knowledgeable about new technologies.

12. "We need direct experience with the development of data bases, union-appropriate software and improved communications systems within and amongst union organizations. This experience can improve our effectiveness in bargaining, in organizing information workers, and in developing models of employee participation. A key to survival and success in the information age is to embrace the technology and shape a progressive direction for it within our own organizations.

(3) Agitate

13. "A sense of danger, of peril to workers, to our unions and to democratic society pervades our discussion of legislation needed on technological change. Even our best bargaining efforts have only succeeded in protecting the members we have today. Attrition continues to undermine our strength.

14. "Organizing must become a top priority if unions are to survive. We cannot protect our members at the bargaining table nor seek to influence government with our ranks seriously depleted.

15. "To address job-creation, broader political and legislative action is essential. Federal and provincial governments are not concerned about jobs, only about 'freeing' the private sector to generate 'growth'. But growth does not necessarily bring jobs, as those workers whose layoffs continue through the 'recovery' can testify. Labour needs more than a place in meaningless rounds of consultation. Central labour bodies are the key to effective political action, and expanded efforts in this area are urgently required.

(4) Design

16. "To involve our members in gaining control over tech change, we must equip ourselves to address a range of job-design issues. Abrasive hardware, intolerant software and simplified job tasks are now increasing worker alienation. New equipment is being sold as a way of reducing labour costs, rather than of making operations more effective. We need to develop and bargain for a participative approach, 'user-driven design' to maintain existing jobs, create new ones, and improve the technical, social and physical environment of work.

17. "The purpose of bargaining over the introduction of tech change is to give the individual worker a direct say in the design of work. But simply saying that we want to translate worker concerns into design proposals will not make that happen.

18. "To accomplish this important task, we must train a network of technology stewards whose function would be to observe changes in the workplace, gather complaints and suggestions, and come forward with bargaining demands on job and equipment design.

19. "The information on how technological change is affecting workers on the job exists at the workplace level. It must be gathered there. But its usefulness extends beyond the local leadership to regional councils within affiliates, ranking officers and central labour bodies. To ensure the proper transmission of information and proposals on tech change, the technology stewards within each union must communicate with each other through an active technology committee or similar internal union structure.

20. "The organizational and educational task of putting this network of stewards in place is a large one and must be taken up by the Congress and by each affiliate.

21. "By equiping our members to insist on the integration of human needs into production, we can shape the future, counter the sense of pessimism and reach out to the public with a positive message.

Immediate Steps

22. "For a technology campaign to be effective, the following measures are necessary:

(1) Launching a collective bargaining campaign for reduced working time with no loss in pay;

(2) Adopting more effective mechanisms for resolving jurisdictional disputes and supporting co-ordinated bargaining;

(3) Making organizing a priority with each affiliate;

(4) Establishing and training a network of technology stewards

within affiliates to gather information and develop proposals for the proper introduction of technological change;

(5) Encouraging innovation and exchange of experience on the use of computer technology to improve our own effectiveness;

(6) Using paid educational leave and reallocating staff resources to develop the technical resources within unions for 'user-driven' design proposals; and

(7) Pressing governments for labour law reform and job-creation initiatives so that organized and unorganized workers alike can share in the benefits generated by new technologies.

WORKERS' TECHNOLOGY BILL OF RIGHTS

1. The right to a job

"Technological changes shall be used in a way that creates and maintains jobs, as part of an overall full employment strategy.

"In support of the full employment goal, public assistance to corporations in whatever form shall be tied to employment-creation agreements. Corporate performance shall be audited and the continuation of assistance shall be based on the quantity and quality of jobs in place.

2. The right to a share of the benefits of technological change

"The cost savings and productivity gains resulting from the use of new technology shall be shared with the workers involved. Reductions in working time shall not result in losses of income nor a decline in living standards.

3. The right to know and participate

"All workers shall have the following rights to be set in law:

- One-year written notice of any proposed technological change;
- Full disclosure of information relating to the change, in manner accessible to workers;
- Participation through the union in all stages of the evaluation, selection, adaptation and implementation of tech change;
- Full agreement prior to the introduction of the change.

"Any form of public assistance for investments in new technology shall be conditional upon the conclusion of a signed agreement between the employer and union.

4. The right to security

"New technology shall not be used to monitor, measure or otherwise control the work practices and work standards of workers and such measurement shall be prohibited by law.

"New technology shall be evaluated in terms of worker safety and health and shall be introduced in a manner which improves the workplace environment.

"Retraining shall be provided at employer expense and on work time to all workers affected by technological change. Education and training unrelated to the current job shall be financed through mandatory employer-financed paid educational leave plans."

MR. F. POMEROY (Technological Change Committee Chairman): I move, seconded by G. Pattinson, Committee Secretary, that Document 19 be adopted.

MS. S. FREI (USWA, Local 8243): When computers were introduced, we were told that they would bring along increased leisure time for people and benefits through the introduction of technology. Well, we have seen a lot of technology introduced, we have also seen a lot of layoffs, not only the private sector but also in the public sector. In the mine that I work in, we have considerable amount of technological change, even though we are not producing and we know that when the mine does open up again, we will be operating at probably two-thirds of the work force that we had two years ago, when the mine shut down.

We are also talking today about reducing the hours of work for people and enabling workers not only to have reduced hours of work but also to be able to receive the same pay.

We will have technological change that will make the workplaces more productive. Let us take that increase in productivity and use it to pay for the reduction in hours of work. We can reduce those hours and pay for the change that is happening in the workplace and we can do it easily by taking that increase in productivity and applying it to reduction in hours of work and I think we can do it effectively.

MR. W. RENO (UFCW, Local 175): Not too long ago, I had a chance to talk to a small conference on technological change which was attended mostly by business and government managers. I listed for them the five major problems that we in labour have with the introduction of new technology. First of all, it is de-skilling: it can rob us of our training and experience. Second, it produces unemployment. Third, it disproportionately affects women workers more than men. Fourth, it can and does represent new forms of occupational health hazards. Finally, a lot of the new technology and its applications can be alienating and inhuman.

After I spoke a man came up to me from the audience and said: "You people are just paranoid". He gave me a couple of superficial answers to some of the problems that I raised. I said: "No, I do not think we are paranoid, pessimistic perhaps, but paranoid, no, because paranoia involves an unreasonable fear that something or somebody will get to you and in this case, I think our fears are not only reasonable, I think they also reflect reality." Let me give you a common example of the introduction of new technology in the workplace where everything went wrong and all our fears were realized. If you go into a modern supermarket, one that has been built or remodelled in the last six or seven years, and watch the cashiers and you will see that the cashiers are working on electronic cash registers. They are not really cash registers, they are actually minicomputers and some of the cashiers are using the laser scanner, so they do not have to push in the prices. Probably most of them are packaging the goods at the same time that they are ringing in the prices, eliminating the double handling, which increases their productivity. It looks like a very small, innocent change but if we analyze it and look at it closely in terms of the five problems that I listed, we get a different picture. It is not so innocuous.

First of all, there is the de-skilling. It used to take an average cashier eight to ten months to reach peak productivity on the conventional systems. With the scanners, it now takes three weeks and the implications for reducing our bargaining power are pretty dramatic.

Does it produce unemployment? Well, regrettably, it does because there is a 30 to 50 per cent average increase in productivity for each cashier as a result of this new technology and you can bet there are jobs being lost and we have the figures to prove it.

Does it affect women more? That is pretty obvious, since over 95 per cent of our cashiers are women.

Is any of this new technology a health hazard? And here, we have full scale human tragedy. In the last five years, in Ontario alone, cashiers have taken more than 800 per cent more cases for work-related disabilities to the Workers' Compensation Board.

Another study showed that, of all the cashiers that work on this new technology — regardless of their age — more than 80 per cent suffer some degree of disability in their backs, their shoulders, their arms and their wrists. Yes, it is a pretty serious occupational health problem and it is brand new because of the technology.

And finally, is this technology alienating and inhuman? Well, you judge for yourself, because inside each one of those minicomputers that the cashiers work on is an electronic version of big brother which is watching them all the time, which is recording every single thing they do on that cash register, every key stroke, every addition that goes through. Every mistake they make becomes a part of their permanent record and they know it and the machine is pushing them to go faster and faster and their bodies are starting to break down as a result. This is a terrible price, an inhuman price to pay for so-called progress. And our disabled cashiers are a living proof of the message that we have to get to the rest of our members, before it affects them, and to the rest of the Canadian public, that while progress, all progress, may involve change, all change is not necessarily progress. I support this paper and I urge you to do the same.

MS. J. THORKELSON (UAFWU, Local 31): This paper is one we should all wholeheartedly support. It is the type of program of action that can lead us to a better type of life and to full employment. Right now, in Prince Rupert, in a plant which had already had 700 jobs lost, there will be another 30 per cent reduction in the work force, if the company is allowed to go ahead and put in a fish-washing machine. This machine will take the jobs of almost 200 workers in the slow part of the season and possibly 400 workers in the busy part of the season. These workers only work two months of the year. That is their only income. They are mostly women if not all women, and they will not find another job in the northern part of British Columbia anywhere because they do not have the training to fit into any other kind of industries that are coming on line in Prince Rupert even though that employment is a small amount of employment because of the computer technology. They do not have the ability to run those computers.

We must have a look at technological change and what it will be doing to us on an overall basis. This paper stresses the necessity of collective action. Those workers in that fish plant will have to take militant action, like maybe going on strike all summer, to keep the company from putting that in to make the company more productive. That company is B.C. Packers, which is part of Weston; and this is an innovative technology change, one that will enable them to make millions and millions of dollars of profit while our people will be on welfare, remain on welfare with all of the problems that go along with that.

This paper stresses the need for a co-ordinated strategy in political action, in education, in collective bargaining. It says that we should make sure that we start looking at the shorter work week, to make sure we start looking at banning of overtime and any other methods we can do, so that we take advantage of the technological change: we also want our workers to have the same or better level of take home pay. This paper talks about the redistribution of wealth in this society and right now the redistribution is taking from the poor and giving it to the rich, because of technological change. If we have a co-ordinated national action as this paper proposes, we will be able to get some of that wealth redistributed down due to the technological change.

MR. C. MICKLEWRIGHT (BRAC, Local 1820): This paper contains a lot of very important points. The problem of electronic transfer of workers is something we have to be concerned about, electronic surveillance and the problems that are caused by attrition as the new technology takes away our jobs. I want to concentrate on one point on this particular paper which is contained under the "Workers' Technology Bill of Rights," which states: "Technology should not be used to monitor, measure or otherwise control the work practices and work standards of workers and such measurement shall be prohibited by law." I want you all to listen very carefully because I will tell you a horror story.

My members work at CP Air and when you lifted the phone and you called them to make your reservations to come to this convention, you did not know it but you might have been tape-recorded. The Criminal Code in this country allows employers to tape-record employees under the guise of quality control. Employers of course do not use that for quality control, they use it to spy on employees and to catch them out when they are doing things that they are supposedly not supposed to be doing.

At CP Air, a year and a half ago, a decision was made to purchase new telephone equipment. There was no consultation with the union and we did not know what a dreadful system they were putting into our workplace. This system came in, we received no notice, we did not know how it functioned, we did not know how it was operated. You come in the morning, you have to sign into the telephone and it says down to the second what time you were there. You sign into your video display terminal; and every time you make a reservation the dollar signs go up and every time you cancel one the dollar signs go down and you get a check every five minutes to see how you are doing compared to everybody else. That is just part of it.

A friend of mine had an experience that was really horrendous. It nearly ended up in a court of law as a revocation of this system which contained a surveillance system that we never contemplated. I do not know how much money CP Air spent on this system, at least a million dollars. My friend came in to work one day. She was very upset, she had just been to the doctor, she had been diagnosed as having cancer of the cervix. She sat down next to a friend of hers. She signed into the telephone, she signed into a VDT. She plugged in her telephone set and she said to her friend next to her before she started taking telephone calls, "I just feel terrible, I have been to the doctor and I have cancer of the cervix. I should not even be here and I am really upset." Her friend sympathized with her as a friend would and they had a conversation which, of course, you are supposed to be working and taking phone calls and not doing that. My friend was called in by a supervisor to get a performance appraisal and he said to her: "You are doing a good job and I am really sorry to hear about your problem of having cancer of the cervix. I sympathize with you and if you have any problems in the workplace and you need any time off, come and see me and I will make sure it is O.K." My friend was shocked, she only told one person, her best friend, she trusted her friend. She went back to that person and she said: "I do not believe what just happened, whom did you tell?" She said: "I did not tell anybody". This system that they put in was a voice-activated system and every time you burped or you said "that supervisor today was a bitch" the tapes wrote.

This is quality control, this is electronic surveillance, it is a gross invasion of human rights and privacy.

In this society with our Constitution, we think we have certain rights, we think that in our homes, no one has the right to tap our telephonne lines, to open our mail, to spy on us. Somehow, when we go into the workplace, we close that door and we leave all those rights behind and say it is OK for the employer to put things into our working sites and spy on us and put cameras in the washrooms and tape-record conversations. What the hell is the matter with us? These are basic rights. They have no right to do that to us and there are lots of other stories that happened to workers in that environment. Guys have conversations with their best friends about some women they were with last night and get called in for appraisal and having the supervisor play this tape back to them. Well what do we do about this? We said, this is ridiculous, we will not tolerate this, we will do two things. We said to that company, "You get that system fixed". They said they did not know it had these capabilities when they bought the system. We said: "You get that taken out right now" because — this was in British Columbia — and even though we are under the federal code, we were going to court under the Privacy Act, which so far has not been tested, and file civil suits on behalf of all our members, pay for the cost of it and get that into court".

MR. J.-P. MARCELLIN (IAM, Local 118): Of course, I support this paper. Is it possible to do otherwise after hearing the testimony we just heard? I knew that the offspring of new technology were numerous but not to that extent! Lately, I witnessed the birth of another. Electronic monitoring is in the process of being installed everywhere and I realize that very soon it will be our turn to have it.

At the CN where I have the good fortune of being employed — I say good fortune because some are unfortunately without a job — I recently had the occasion to read the company's annual report. The company declared profits of $268 million but also announced that since 1982, 10,000 jobs had been lost due to technological change. At Canadian Pacific, the number is similar, which means that between the two railroads, 20,000 workers are out of work. In the same trend of thought, I am convinced that our brothers and sisters from the UAW, that workers in nearly all trades are also familiar with such cut-backs.

But this is merely the tip of the iceberg. As trade unionists, we can perceive this, but we do not perceive as yet where and when this will reach the entire unorganized sector. If I may take an example from that good old CN again, the company decided to replace the cabooses, the small tail-cars from which the smooth running of the train is controlled. Cabooses will be removed and replaced by a small box, a tiny weeny box. This is already in effect in the United States, and, as a result, some 25,000 jobs were lost. At our place, it has already been said that 2,000 direct jobs would be cut. As far as CP is concerned, it is the same. And this, not to mention the impact on direct employment, on shop workers who repair cabooses, on the people who make them, and also on workers in related industries, the equipment workers in factories, the sheet metal workers, etc. all people that will be affected because, somewhere, a tiny box has been installed.

We need resolutions with more bite, that is, the kind that would really make governments bite the dust. In certain countries, such as Japan, where new methods of operation are being developed and new technology introduced, companies are obligated to plan how they will reassign and reclassify their employees. To avoid creating unemployment, they may even have to set up related industries. The situation is similar in Sweden and in Austria too, I believe. Perhaps these countries have the right answer; they probably gave themselves the kind of government it takes to bring about such changes. Take, for example, the criteria applied in Sweden when a company wants to introduce new technology. The first criterion is impact on employment; the second, impact on people's health and safety; the third, impact on environment; the fourth, impact on the economy. Here, there is only one impact that counts; the economic one. In other words, free-for-all profit. This is why it is most important that we support this paper and give ourselves the instruments that will effectively prevent this free-for-all.

MR. R. STEWART (ECWU, Vice-President): In this paper, on technology, the Committee has directed its focus exclusively on the worker and the working environment and commendable job.

But the labour movement should also concern itself with other social implications of computer technology. As the technology matures, the question of who will control the sending and receiving of information together with the design and shape of data base becomes an ever increasing concern of our society.

We all know that the control of information and knowledge can confer unprecedented power to those who control it. Never before in the history of human existence have we been able to concentrate, store, manipulate and retrieve such an abundance of information by the mere pushing of a button. The debates on the control of sending and receiving of information and a design and shaping of data bases is topical among social scientists and the academic community. It seems to me that the labour movement should join that debate. We must not allow a new elite to emerge in this country.

I would suggest, therefore, that the Committee on Technology give consideration to broadening the scope of their paper to include that the control of this technology must be exclusively vested in the people of Canada for the benefit of the people in Canada and not to the privileged few.

MR. G. DOER (NUPGE-MGEA, Local 507): I would also like to congratulate the Standing Committee of the Canadian Labour Congress which has been producing material that we are using in our locals on a daily basis, whether the arbitration material, the collective bargaining manual that has been given to delegates, the education material or data in research. Every delegate from each local in this hall, when they vote for this statement, should be pledging themselves to action on this Technological Bill of Rights.

I would also like to congratulate the Committee for recognizing the whole problem of public assistance to corporations in the area of technology. How many times will we have to witness the situation where we saw billions of dollars given out to corporations such as Canadair, and other senior executives of that corporation, got bonuses when workers were being laid off and I think that is scandalous.

We know that the governments will be the last institutions dealing with this problem. We know the corporations will be using technology to increase profits, it is up to us in the labour movement to return the benefits of technology to the workers at the workplace and deal with the productivity in terms of all Canadians. Our union will be working with a sympathetic government and using this Committee to try to get labour law changes and collective bargaining changes that will be useful to all workers across Canada. Not only will we bargain hours of work but that we also want to negotiate rights under surveillance so that we can have in our collective agreement protection for our individual workers at our workplace.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed.

On the main motion, one of the adoption of the paper, all those in favour please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. F. POMEROY (Technological Committee Chairman): Resolutions T-5, T-7, T-9, T-13, T-15 and E-51 all dealt with reduced working time, for which a composite resolution reads:

> "WHEREAS there has been no recent progress in Canadian legislation with respect to the reduction of hours of work; and
>
> "WHEREAS the rate of unemployment in Canada has reached unacceptable proportions; and
>
> "WHEREAS technological change threatens to make unemployment worse; and
>
> "WHEREAS CLC affiliates and the CLC have all pressed for shorter hours of work;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress launch a major campaign to press for shorter hours of work, including daily, weekly and annual periods of work to achieve an average work week of 32 hours or less, as well as earlier retirement; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that, in consequence, the CLC and affiliates fight against the use of overtime; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that these demands be submitted to the different levels of government and that the Congress vigorously promote a collective bargaining and political action strategy to that effect."

I move the adoption of this resolution, seconded by the Secretary of the Committee, G. Pattenson.

MR. R. GODFREY (CWC, Local 25): I endorse all the remarks of the previous speakers on the previous motion and I would echo particularly the lady's remarks on the telephone operator. That lady needs shorter working hours as operator. She has an insidious job and it is just soul-destroying. She not only is monitored by what she says, she is monitored by what her job performance is; how often does she go to the washroom. They are monitored right down to the second that they work, how many calls do they handle in a second. That girl needs a shorter work week. The health and safety aspects of workers with the changing technology include increasing stress. The new switching technology that is involved is literally mind-boggling; telephone work can be transferred from one city to another. They can eliminate operators from a location and transfer the load somewhere else. They can transfer work and they can cause layoffs. There will be no work for your children or maybe your children's children. We need shorter working hours to take up some of the slack.

MS. M. POLLOCK (CUPW, Vancouver Local): First, I have a question. Does this include 32 hours shorter work week with no loss in pay because it is not clear in the resolution.

MR. F. POMEROY (Technological Change Committee Chairman): Yes.

MS. M. POLLOCK (CUPW, Vancouver Local): I want to speak in support of the resolution. What we passed yesterday was an affirmative action policy, a policy to get women into the work force, a policy talking about women's needs. This is the perfect complement to that policy. We are talking about getting women in the work force, but microchip technology is doing the total opposite. It is taking women out of the work force and we see it in technology. In my local alone, we lost over 100 positions last year, both women and men, but primarily women. Women are hurt harder, women are in the areas in which the employer is using microchip technology. If in fact we want and follow up our policy in terms of affirmative action for women, a shorter work week is necessary.

In previous conventions, the CLC has adopted a position on a shorter work week but a campaign has not been forthcoming. With this policy and with the necessity of carrying out a campaign with the fact that technological change is present and dangerous threat, I would hope that in this Convention and the next two years, the CLC carries out a policy on the shorter work week, a policy of education, a policy of going to the membership and a policy of collective bargaining. This way, we can actualize the employment and we can, in fact, share the wealth in technology. I urge everyone to adopt this resolution.

MR. J.-C. PARROT (Technological Change Committee member): First, I support this very important resolution; it relates in fact to the whole issue of technological change and, in the end, to that of unemployment; it also relates to the paper we adopted earlier on campaigns to press for shorter hours of work and other social measures.

When we adopted the policy on concessions at the last Convention, I can still recall Brother McDermott gathering the leading officers of affiliated unions at the back in order to ascertain that the policy really had unanimous support. I believe this was of capital importance, for the campaign on concessions, although very trying, was, in my opinion, a most positive one. Because the policy was well understood by all, many unions were able to beat the concession demands. Now, if we are to launch campaigns for a shorter work week and to inform the public of what this entails, it is obvious that once again we will need the support of affiliates and also all the information they may have.

In the course of the last four years, the Technological Change Committee, with the help of CLC staff, has sent out a questionnaire to affiliated unions for the purpose of collecting detailed information on technological change. With the help of the returned questionnaires, we were able to prepare a handbook for negotiators which has been forwarded to all affiliates, precisely to guide them in their bargaining strategy on technological change. This handbook is of great help to negotiators. The resolution mentions that affiliates should co-ordinate their strategy. To achieve this, we will have to work hand-in-hand and share all bits of information.

We know ahead of time about technology being introduced; we also know that it will take away jobs, be it at the Post Office or elsewhere. We know that technological changes are introduced to increase productivity, we know that governments and management are using the introduction of technology to blackmail us and that if they are unable to increase productivity via technological change, they will go elsewhere. So we also know that if we campaign for a shorter work week, employers still have the advantage. There will be a chorus of employers, governments and media clamouring that a shorter work week without loss of salary is utopic, that it would increase costs, that business would make less profit, that it would be expensive for the people, that it would mean cuts in services. Our collective response to that should be that this is not true, that technological change must foster jobs and that a shorter work week is a way of fostering employment.

We must have a share in the benefits of technological change. Why should workers approve these changes if it means nothing to them but the loss of jobs, electronic monitoring and profits for the employers? If this is technological change, we cannot accept it. However, since technological change is here, we too must have our own strategy so that, in the course of negotiations, we can support each other and share information.

Those who have waged successful battles can then help others in later negotiations. We must share with each other all information on the impact of technological changes at the workplace. The example given earlier by the sister on mike 4 is likely to be repeated tens, hundreds, thousands of times throughout the country; maybe not so pathetic as this example, but similar. With everything well in hand, we should be able to involve not only organized labour but also those who are unorganized and working under terrible conditions. The message that emerges from the paper on technological change, from this resolution and from the statement we adopted earlier this afternoon is that in the event of a CLC campaign, everyone must pitch in. If we do not all pitch in, if the campaign remains the thing of only a few officers, then we will fail. To sum up, when voting this resolution, we should by now be fully aware of what it implies. We must also envisage political action on this issue. Let us all vote on this in the hope that in the course of the next two years we can give effect to the resolution so that, when we return in 1986, a shorter work week and other social measures for job-creation will be an accomplished fact for workers, not merely for employers.

MR. R. BASKEN (ECWU, Executive Assistant): I rise in support of the Committee recommendation on reducing hours of work. Some of the things that have been said here are positions that have been taken by our union and other unions across Canada to try and create jobs and try and make the work life a little better for everybody. My union now enjoys for the most part a 35-hour week for office workers and a 37.3-hour week for shift workers in the industrial and production areas in the oil and petrochemical and natural gas industry. They did not do that as a result of accidents. They did that as a result of a collective bargaining process with a lot of advance notice to industry that said we are moving that way and we do not intend to strike to get it, we intend to have it negotiated and we intend to have you agree to it.

In 1973, we moved from 42 hours a week in most of our industrial plants in the oil and petrochemical industry and the gas industry, to a 37.3-hour week. In 1982/83, some industries said we should take it back, go back to the 42-hour week, make the workers work longer, make them understand that they have to be more productive and working longer will make them more productive. Garbage! There surely should be some advantage to workers in the technological process of this country and if there was no trade union movement in Canada, who would be speaking out on behalf of working people to improve the lot of working people? Not a single solitary soul.

The Canadian Labour Congress and its committees have coordinated the introduction of technological change programs, as my union did in 1965 with a six-month strike and then another one in 1969. Then, all of a sudden, the industry understood that we wanted to talk about shorter hours, we wanted to talk about technological change and we wanted to be a part of it. And we did not care to be the sole beneficiaries as working people in the oil and gas and petrochemical industry, we wanted all workers to be participants in that; and so they should. The paper that was introduced and passed before talked about surveillance, certainly they will watch us. Certainly they will know what we are doing and the facts of life are that we better take advantage of it because it is here and we better not misunderstand the question of overtime. Mandatory overtime is still in existence in Canada, some places by law a maximium of 44 hours a week, regular time, another 40 hours, with overtime rates, mandatory by law, because the employer wanted it. It is time we said "no". Why do not workers have the right to work a reasonable amount of time for a reasonable income, for a reasonable standard of living and make life better for all of us? We can and this Canadian Labour Congress will lead the way to doing it. Who needs to work 60 or 70 hours a week if we can produce it all in 20 or 30? Let us do it for the benefit of everyone, not just for the benefit of the rich. Why do we want to transfer money from the pockets of the poor to the pockets of the rich? Common sense says we do not. If we are to introduce robots, let us understand that. Maybe it is possible in time that the workers of this country should say if they are to introduce robots, then let the workers own the robots and take the profit that they produce.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed. Debate is closed.

On the main motion, all those in favour of the Committee recommendation. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered.

I need on the platform the following committee and their chairperson: Organization, Constitution and Laws, General Resolutions and Union Label.

MR. F. POMEROY (Technological Committee Chairman): Resolution T-4 dealt with monitoring and we are recommending concurrence with one amendment:

> "WHEREAS new technology is being developed and used as a tool for employers to increase productivity and extend control over workers; and
>
> "WHEREAS this control takes the form of machine-pacing, machine-monitoring of individual productivity and error rates; and
>
> "WHEREAS workers who experience such control suffer increased stress-related illnesses like ulcers and heart disease; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Labour Canada Task Force on Micro-Electronics and Employment concluded that close monitoring of work is an employment practice based on mistrust and lack of respect for basic human dignity and that this practice be prohibited by law;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress demand that the practice of electronic and/or machine monitoring be banned by law; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC develop a public campaign to achieve this end."

I move, seconded by the Secretary of the Committee, G. Patterson.

MS. C. KRYZANIWSKY (CALEA, Local 300): Amended Resolution T-4 needs your support. I am an airline worker and I represent some 400 men and women in a local where electronic surveillance has become a way of life, the same way disease and high unemployment are currently a way of life. Just as you here do not accept disease and high unemployment, neither have my members accepted being degraded and dehumanized by the big brother of new technology. They are fighting Air Canada to try to have the systems removed through collective bargaining but we cannot do it alone. We need our brothers and sisters in the labour movement to push for legislation to ban machine-monitoring. I hope we can defeat the electronic surveillance before the majority of your members have to try to cope with it. Daily and hourly electronic surveillance leads to drug and alcohol abuse and stress-related illness. I see its results every day and it sickens me. I ask for your help to defeat the disgusting form of this work place supervision.

MR. J. SHIELDS (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 601): The question that we ask in all of the technological change examination is the question of who benefits as a result of the change. Other speakers have talked eloquently about the question of the invasion of privacy.

My concern in this resolution is the occupational health issue.

Several years ago, I was talking to people in an industrial workplace and it is the whole question of speeding up of the work. Where somebody can control the speed and the pace of the work by monitoring it, we know that there is a whole inclination of the employer to rapidly increase the pace of the work that people do, to the point at which people cannot cope with the speed of the assembly line any longer. In the area of electronic monitoring and electronic surveillance and in this whole automation area, that is exactly what happens to people. Individuals are looked at and monitored electronically and their key strike weight or their pace of work is monitored and the boss can call that individual in and say: "Your rate of work is so far below the person working next to you, you have to go faster." In the government area where I work, I have seen workers harassed by the supervisors and pushed faster and faster and faster and there is no upper limit to that faster work. There is just a constant demand for more, and who benefits from that? The employer. What the worker gets is a sore back, sore arms, headaches. This is not just limited to the workplace; they go home with that experience and it affects their family life. When they go into recreation, they are still carrying the effects of that electronic monitoring because it reaches to the very roots of the individual and creates a state of stress that is unbearable.

MR. R. McGARRY (LCUC, President): Speaking in support of the resolution, I certainly know what electronic surveillance is all about from seeing it implemented throughout the post offices back in 1975/76 and up to today. In many areas, it is introduced not for security. We have negotiated on it but it keeps creeping in. Certainly the newer workers in the establishment have to be educated, have to know what it means and a campaign by the Canadian Labour Congress is needed to make sure that it does not expand. We see it in the airlines. We see it even in the grocery stores; you go in and it is not there for the help of employees. It is certainly not there to make sure we are safe; it is there to monitor the work and to spy on the employees.

It is one of the areas that education is needed on. We see every day where the work is transferred and our members are monitored by machines even in the banking institutions they go into. It gets to the point where you are not only under surveillance while you are at work doing work, you are under surveillance when you deposit your pay cheque and I think there has to be a whole lot of education on technology, what it is doing to people outside of the work place because workers do not just end their work when they punch their card, they have to live in that community at home and we have to educate on the technology and stop people from getting into situations where their whole life is monitored by the same machine and the same area of mistrust through government and employers.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Question is being called, all those in favour of closing debate please signify. Down. Opposed. Debate is closed.

On the main motion, all those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried and so ordered. I ask the Committee to step down at this time, with our thanks.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS COMMITTEE

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Law Committee Chairman): The Constitution and Laws Committee will now deal with the Report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure which you should all have in your kits, and you will also need Document No. 1, the Report of the Constitution and Laws Committee. We will now read the Report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure and we will break the reading to deal with resolutions relating to the Report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure.

We had hearings in Toronto, Sudbury, Regina, Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver, Halifax and Ottawa. Then we come to the first question that we dealt with, which is:

> "Is there a need to expand or update the Code of Union Citizenship, the Code of Organizing Practices; the Code of Ethical Practices, and/or the Canadian Standards of Self-Government?"

Because most presenters were satisfied with the present Codes and Standards, the Commission decided only three minor modifications were warranted at this time. The first would give recognition to our responsibility to our brothers and sisters who are injured at work. The Commission is recommending concurrence in Resolution C-6 which reads:

"BE IT RESOLVED that the Code of Union Citizenship be amended to add Section 11 — 'To provide all possible assistance necessary to members who are injured or disabled or suffer industrial disease in the workplace'."

On behalf of the Committee, seconded by Huguette Plamondon, Committee member, I would move concurrence in Resolution C-6.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Question, all in favour of the Committee's recommendation which is the concurrence in Resolution C-6, all in favour, please show. Down. Any opposed? Motion is carried.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): Our second recommendation in the area of the Code is:

The submission to the Commission of the Canadian Standards of Self-Government did not indicate a need for fundamental change, but the Commission did agree that a preamble to the Canadian Standards would make explicit their intent. The Commission is therefore recommending concurrence in Resolution C-7 which reads:

"BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Standards of Self-Government be amended by adding a preamble — 'Members of affiliated unions shall exercise their rights as citizens of a sovereign nation and shall govern the affairs of the union in conformity with this fundamental right'."

On behalf of the Committee, I would move concurrence in Resolution C-7, seconded by D. Patterson, of the Committee.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Question is now being called, all in favour of concurrence in Resolution C-7, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitutional and Laws Committee Chairman): The third recommendation for a change in the Code that we thought would be useful was to include in the Constitution a concern about sexual harassment at work or in the union. The Commission is therefore recommending concurrence in Resolution C-9 which reads as follows:

"BE IT RESOLVED that the Code of Union Citizenship be amended by adding a new section, Section 12 which will read: — 'To conduct union business with and to provide services to all members without discrimination on the basis of race, colour, creed, sex, age, or national origin in an environment free of sexual harassment'."

On behalf of the Committee, I recommend concurrence in Resolution C-9, seconded by Pierre Samson, Committee member.

MS. D. WOOD (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 1211): I rise in support of this resolution and I wish to address the section of the resolution dealing with an environment free of sexual harassment. I will not talk about what constitutes sexual harassment, I think each and everyone of us in this room knows very well what it is, for if we ourselves have not experienced it, we certainly know of someone who has. In fact, at some time in our life, we might have been the harassor, the harassee or both. It is no secret that in Canada, between seven and nine out of ten women suffer sexual harassment at least once in their working life. There are no statistics for men and I am not saying that to be unkind to men, it is simply that what is openly discussed is sexual harassment of women, but men do not openly discuss sexual harassment of men. Therefore, women have initiated studies on women but sexual harassment is not only a women's issue, it is a workers' issue. The more distressing statistic is that when workers do fight back nearly 48 per cent of the victims lose their jobs. They end up being fired or their working environment becomes so intolerable they are forced to quit. We have no statistics available on the other work-related issues that workers suffer from, as a result of sexual harassment, such as missed promotional opportunities, transfers against their wishes, isolation at the workplace, adverse comments on personnel files, demotions, changes in work assignments and increase in work loads and a whole host of other workplace reprisals.

Now, having heard all that, how are unions dealing with the issue of sexual harassment? Are they negotiating language on sexual harassment into their collective agreements? Yes, some are, and that is really the only way to protect workers' rights in the workplace. In 1982, my union's bargaining convention set sexual harassment as one of our priority bargaining demands. At the bargaining table, our chief negotiator, Brother Fryer, discussed openly and frankly the need for a sexual harassment clause. He then turned to the women on the Bargaining Committee and said: "What do you think woman, should we unleash the tigers on them?" And so we did. Each woman on that Committee described in great detail incidents of sexual harassment that had occurred in the various work sites throughout the province.

The all-male employer Negotiating Committee was shocked by our presentation. We said: "Don't be shocked, be ashamed". As a result of our action at that negotiating session, we have a sexual harassment clause in our collective agreement. What it states is that the union and the employer recognize the right of workers to work in an environment free from sexual harassment and the employer shall take such actions as are necessary, respecting an employee engaging in sexual harassment in the workplace. Now unions have a responsibility to guarantee that members work in an environment free from sexual harassment and I support this resolution because it will make that happen.

MR. F. UPSHAW (NUPGE-OPSEU, Local 331): I would like to congratulate those responsible for this particular resolution. It is time that we take a good look at sexual harassment. I am quite pleased to see it here in front of us because you know after a while it gets a little bumpy out there. I happen to be a registered nurse and I work with a majority of women and I am so pleased that we now have a resolution that will look after me too! So I will ask everyone here to definitely support this resolution because we, men in the nursing field, need it!

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Seeing no other delegates to speak on the mike on this question, I will call for the vote on the recommendation of the Committee. All in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Any opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): The second question that was asked in Brother McDermott's letter to the affiliates was:

"Do you believe that proven violations of the Code or Standard should be the basis of justification under Article IV?"

And we had a number of presentations that are outlined in the report, you can read about them in detail but I will deal with our recommendation which says:

"After a thorough review of all the submissions, it was decided that at this time there was no overriding reason or need to formally link the Codes or Standards to the Justification procedure. Among the submissions that persuaded the Commission was that by Senator Goldenberg who noted that Article IV, section 5 especially its phrase 'contrary to basic concepts of trade union morality or the constitutional objectives of the Congress' — would permit reference in justification cases to the Code or Standards."

"Brother Laberge raised the fact that there was a difference between the English and the French wording of Article IV, Section 20 which needed to be examined. The English version reads in part:

"'Any affiliate which claims justification under Section 5, for action, which would in the absence of such justification violate the provisions of this Article *shall process its claim*, prior to taking action, under the provisions of this section. . .'
(italic added).

"The French version reads in part:

> "Toute organisation affiliée qui prétend s'autoriser de la section 5 pour recourir à des actes qui en des circonstances ordinaires, violeraient les dispositions du présent article, doit, avant d'agir, *présenter*, conformément aux dispositions de la présente section. . .'
> (italic added).

"In the French version, the sense is that a union must file for justification before it takes any action to sign up members in a local of another affiliate. In the English version, the sense is that a union must process the claim to the point of final decision on justification before any action can be taken. The Commission believed that both texts should reflect the need of affiliates to submit claims for justification without also adding the obligation to refrain from any action whatsoever until the entire claim has been processed."

The Commission is therefore recommending concurrence in Resolution C-10 which also covers Resolution O-27 and C-11, as follows:

> "BE IT RESOLVED that in the English version of Article IV, section 20 the word 'process' be replaced with the word 'submit'. In the French version of Article IV, Section 20, the word 'présenter' be replaced with 'soumettre'.
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Article IV, Section 5 be amended by changing the word 'upheld' to 'submitted'."

On behalf of the Committee, seconded by Sister Plamondon, I move concurrence in Resolution C-10.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): The question is being called. This is a constitutional amendment requiring two-thirds vote. All in favour of the Committee's recommendation to amend the Constitution, please show. Down. Those opposed. Two-thirds has been well met, the motion is carried and amendment of the Constitution has been approved.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): We will deal with the third question now, Representation and Voting at CLC Conventions. I think you will spare me from getting into a detailed discussion of this since we have discussed it in great detail at previous conventions and we are doing much better this time. We have a recommendation, the recommendation is that:

"The Commission was faced with forceful arguments on both sides of these issues. With local unions varying in size from under 10 to over 10,000 members. It is not easy to strike an acceptable balance between the arguments for participation open to all and a participation fair to all. With the multiplicity of unions in Canada with varied organizational structures, it has been impossible to find an answer perfect to the make-up of each affiliated union.

"The size and makeup of the units of a union should be determined by each to meet the needs of its membership. The size of units should not be a function of the fact that they want to send a certain number of delegates to the CLC Convention. Because unions whose structure is based on large locals or composite local unions have a legitimate concern, the Commission has decided to allow large locals more representation without removing the right of small locals to send delegates."

The Commission therefore recommends concurrence in Resolution C-12 to cover Resolutions C-13, C-14 and C-15 to read as follows:

> "BE IT RESOLVED that Article V, Section 4 be amended to replace the words '. . . one delegate for 1,000 or less members and one additional delegate for each additional 1,000 members or major fraction thereof.' with the words '. . . one delegate for 1,000 or less members and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members or major fraction thereof'."

This resolution would have the effect of increasing representation for the large local unions; concurrence is moved by the Committee, seconded by Cliff Pilkey, Committee member.

MR. G. MICHAUD (UAW, Local 199): I would doubt if there is anyone in this room who is opposed philosophically to a fair type of representation by size. Yet, that is exactly what has been happening in the Congress for a number of years, in that, large local unions such as my own do not have the voting power based on their membership. To give you an example of what I am talking about: in the Niagara Peninsula, from which I come, my local union is comprised of 13 units for a total of about 8,200 people. The CUPE people in the same area have something like about 5,000 people but because of their structure, they are broken into individual local unions and they come to this Convention with the right to approximately 35 votes. We have a membership considerably in excess of that and we come with only eight.

Just the other day, we passed a resolution and we made an amendment to the Constitution in the per capita and that per capita increased by five cents per member. And I have never heard anyone saying to the larger local unions that because you do not have the voting based on your membership that you should not have to pay the per capita on that basis either, nor have we ever suggested that. But there is such a thing as fair is fair. If we have to pay the fee in proportion to our membership then I think that we deserve some consideration when it comes to voting.

We have been to two conventions to try to address that and the resolution which is before you is probably not the one that I would choose if I had a choice but it is an excellent compromise and one that I think is fair and workable and it means that at least now with my 8,000 members, I would at least have 15 votes which is almost half of what CUPE has in the same area and at least, that is an improvement over what we have. I think it is fair, I would hope that the Convention would support this resolution because we just presented a scroll for humanitarianism earlier today and that scroll said "what we want for ourselves we desire for others" and I think if we want democracy for ourselves we should want it for others too and I would hope that the Convention this evening would end the discrimination against the larger local unions that has been taking place for a number of years.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): Seeing no other delegates at the microphones, I will put the question. This is a change in the Constitution and requires two-thirds majority vote. The recommendation of the Committee is to amend the Constitution as set out in Resolution C-12. All in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please show. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried by well over two-thirds.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): Thank you, Brother Chairman, and thank you, Brother Michaud for the submission you made.

Now the fourth question we had to deal with was:

> " 'How might the Constitution deal with the problem that arises when a union has bargaining rights with an employer at one location and then the operation is shut down and a similar operation by the same employer opened in a different location? In other words, does a union have automatic successor rights within the labour movement and should these rights be incorporated into the Constitution in some way?'

"This was not an issue of great concern to most representatives. Indeed, the union that originally raised this problem did not include it in its brief. While some other unions did favour inclusion of successor rights, others noted that it would be difficult to operate across provincial borders.

"The Commission noted that the problem was not always a simple one. Because jurisdictions are shared among different unions and because some certifications exist outside a union's stated jurisdiction for geographic or historical reasons, it is not always possible to state that an operation should belong to one particular union. Secondly, union membership in Canada should remain the choice of the workers involved. Therefore, the Commission concluded that no constitutional wording was appropriate. However, the

CLC and its affiliates are urged to help any affiliate where an employer is changing work locations in an attempt to avoid unionization."

The fifth question dealt with the question of affiliations to labour councils and federations.

> "Should affiliations of local unions to labour councils and federations of labour be a pre-condition for representation at CLC Conventions?"

And we want to advise the delegates that there were more submissions on this question than any other single issue and we listed all the different submissions that we had.

"The issue was one that divided not only those submitting briefs, but there was also a division among the members of the Commission itself. The organizations of Commission members had in some instances taken firm positions on one or other of the sides of the issue. Those opposing any change to the Constitution did not do so because they were unwilling to participate. Rather they emphasized that they wanted a real involvement by their locals. This type of participation required that locals make a specific decision to get involved. There was also a concern expressed about the viability and representativeness of some labour councils that locals would be forced to finance.

"On the other side, the view was expressed that if local union representatives are voting on programs at the CLC Convention which require federation and/or labour council action as part of the follow-up, the local unions should be paying their share of the cost of implementing the program. It was observed that some local unions often request central body support when they are on strike, but are not affiliated to this body."

Two positions evolved from the discussions and it was the issue, as I said, that was most widely discussed at all the public hearings.

"The Commission spent time at all its public meetings and all its private meetings discussing this proposal. Yet a consensus was not attainable in the Commission. It was therefore agreed that this report should set forth both the minority and the majority position among Commission members:

Minority Position

"The minority position supported the concept of strong, viable labour councils and federations, but believed that local unions should make the decision voluntarily and that the federations and labour councils should merit this support. Thus the brief of the PSAC noted:

> "'. . . one of the concerns we have vis-à-vis mandatory affiliation is that locals may affiliate in order to attend Congress Conventions, but fail to participate in the federations and local labour councils. In other words, affiliation should be a commitment that goes beyond simple paper membership.'

"This concern was most often expressed around labour councils. Some of these bodies were not viewed as being very effective. In remote areas, there was the concern that locals would be forced to affiliate to labour councils that were located one hundred or more kilometres away. In such instances, mandatory affiliation would make the labour council more viable financially, but not in terms of people or community support.

Majority Position

"The majority position was that by putting the penalty for failing to live up to Article XV, Section 2, on local unions we could accomplish several points. First, locals would be encouraged to participate and therefore more viable local bodies would be established. Secondly, the affiliation is not compulsory so the decision is still one to be made voluntarily by local unions. Thirdly, it makes Article XV, Section 2 a more realistic part of the Constitution as it recognizes that it is local unions not national offices that are making the decision to participate in labour councils and federations.

"The ability to send delegates to a CLC Convention is one valued by local unions as previous Convention debates have shown. As we have indicated earlier in our Report, we do not wish to limit this right by any type of formula for representation that would remove this basic right. At the same time, there is a responsibility and duty of local unions to live up to Article XV, Section 2 of the Constitution. Only if local unions opt not to follow this responsibility would their right to send a delegate to CLC Conventions be infringed upon. We trust that local unions will see the importance of building a strong labour movement at all levels and will be active members of their local council and provincial federations of labour.

Executive Council Decision

"The Commission on Constitution and Structure reported to the December 1983 Executive Council meeting the decision with a majority position in favour of concurrence with a resolution whose wording was similar to that of Resolution C-6 at the 1982 CLC Convention. The Executive Council debated the recommendation of the Commission at great length. Some affiliates noted that they have their own equivalent subordinate bodies to which affiliation of their own local unions is voluntary. Other affiliates objected strenuously to the mandatory nature of affiliation to labour councils and federations that was being proposed. Some affiliates argued that it was the role of affiliates and not that of the Constitution to make affiliation to subordinate bodies a reality. A majority of the Executive Council felt it to be an unwise move to make affiliation to either labour councils or federations mandatory and therefore voted against submitting a resolution recommending so to the CLC Convention.

"All recommendations by the Commission on Constitution and Structure to change the Constitution require a resolution before the CLC Convention in order to allow the delegates to decide on the issue. As a CLC Committee or Commission cannot submit a resolution directly to the Convention, it must be the Executive Council of the CLC, an affiliated union — nationally or locally — a federation or a labour council that does so. As the majority of the CLC Executive Council did not approve the needed resolution, there is no resolution on this matter being submitted by the CLC Executive Council to the 1984 Convention."

There are, however, other resolutions in your book, but on the basis of the decision flowing from the CLC Executive Council which I have just presented to you on the issue of affiliation to labour councils and federations, the Committee on Constitution and Laws at this 1984 Convention recommends non-concurrence in Resolutions C-16, C-17, C-18, C-19, C-20, C-21 and C-22; and on behalf of the Committee, I move that motion of non-concurrence, seconded by Pierre Samson, Committee member.

MR. W. MAJESKY (Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto, President): Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak against the motion of non-concurrence. I am very much moved by the sentimentality of voluntarism as outlined by one of the large affiliates. It was my understanding in the trade union movement that voluntarism is not widely accepted. It is not widely accepted on ratification or if you talk about certification. It is not widely accepted when one pays union dues and there is a great furor in British Columbia about voluntarism and the trade union movement. I speak against this resolution because I do not believe that is the concept of the trade union movement.

We sat at this Convention a day previously and passed a resolution which committed this Congress to five cents to a national action campaign fund and today outlined the points that we will fight over the next two years. Unemployed action centres, concessions, social justice and a variety of other issues that we will take on in the labour movement. We will take them on at the CLC level, we will take them on at the federal level, we will take them on at the labour council level but unfortunately there is a bit of a flaw. The flaw is that there are a certain amount of resources that are not available at the labour council level.

Federations and labour councils ultimately will be the deliverers of these programs throughout this country and the labour council in Toronto, as one of the largest central labour bodies, intends to follow these programs but I, personally, am a little tired. We have tried everything possible under the sun to go to affiliates and asked them to affiliate. Some people in this trade movement have made the decision that as a central labour body and organization they pay for all their members. I also want to say that some of these affiliates we are speaking against have been sympathetic — there is no question that the Public Service Alliance has been sympathetic — there is no question that OPSEU in fact has been sympathetic, but we in Toronto still have a 100,000 members who are not affiliated to that council and I cannot wait forever, I waited for ten years. We have blackmailed, we have cajoled, we have provided the largest range of services that virtually any central labour body can provide in this country and all I get is excuses.

I have heard some of the most firey speeches on the floor of this Convention and would you believe they are not affiliates of the council and they are not affiliates of the federations and how do you get those people to be active in labour councils and federations? Well, we will have to bite the bullet. There are no free rides in the trade union movement. Either you are in or you are out. If we want to take the ten issues that the Congress passes and go back to every federation of labour and every labour council, there is a cost involved. We make that commitment and we cannot go back and say, well we cannot do that and I want to use a case in point.

We, in Toronto, are on the peace petition caravan, very noble cause, and what do we have to do? You have to go out and beg for nickels and dimes for what I consider to be a major issue in this country. We can fund that campaign if some of the people who only talk would pay. If we could get 100,000 people affiliated to the labour council that are not at the present time, we could do the 10-point program of the Congress and that is why I am speaking against non-concurrence and, at some point in time, we will have to get it at this Convention or the next, Mr. Chairman.

MR. D. BEAN (PSAC, National Component, Local 70021): I rise in support of the Committee's recommendation and make no apologies for doing so. We talk about rhetoric, well let me say that I just heard a bit of rhetoric. We talked about resources. What we were talking about was dollars. Let me assure you of one thing, the Public Service Alliance of Canada does not have to take a back seat to any union, we have contributed our money in the campaign and we will continue to contribute our money. We in the PSAC have and will continue to work to have every one of our locals affiliated with both the federations of labour and the district labour councils. However, mandatory affiliation, by any other name, will not unite and build solidarity in the labour movement. Participation and involvement in the labour movement will build unity and solidarity.

Since the Chairman of the Committee stated the minority position of the report of the Commission on Constitution and Structure, I will not take the time of the delegates here to repeat it. There are those who argue that this is not mandatory affiliation. It leaves the locals the democratic right which we all believe in, the right to decide whether to affiliate or not affiliate. What they forget to say is that those same locals will continue to pay the affiliation per capita to the Canadian Labour Congress, but will not be allowed to participate in the decision-making process at the supreme governing body level, this Convention.

It reminds me a little bit of the position of the federal government. We, public service employees, can belong to a political party they tell us. They said you can belong to a political party of your choice. However, you cannot participate in it. In other words, we can join a political party but we cannot work for, on behalf of, or against a candidate or a party. Surely, the CLC does not want to follow this example set by the federal government. We have no problem with the proposition that, if a local is not affiliated with the federation of labour, they cannot and should not attend or participate in their conventions, seminars or conferences. We have no problem with the proposition that, if a local is not affiliated with the district labour council, then they cannot and should not participate in their conferences and seminars. However, all of the Public Service Alliance of Canada locals are affiliated with the CLC and pay per capita dues accordingly.

In closing, let me assure you, as one of the Executive Vice-Presidents of that organization, I and my brothers and sisters will continue our on-going campaign to have all our locals affiliated. However, we want to do it within the full democratic rights to attend and participate in the CLC Convention. I urge the delegates to support the Committee's recommendation of non-concurrence.

MR. S. O'FLYNN (NUPGE-OPSEU, Local 242): Did you hear that? I have never said it before, NUPGE and OPSEU. Yes, Mr. Fryer has a grin all over his face, he wonders if I am sick or something. Well, let me tell you that we are not given any option to opt out of NUPGE and we are no small union, we are about 75,000. We were told you are either in NUPGE or you are out of the Congress, so I wonder where were all these friends who believe that you can go in or out of whatever organizations you like as you please, where were you? Anyway, these are different days and different ways and different times!

Now, I want to refer back to this afternoon and I know that we are all very tired but it was just this afternoon that we passed an action plan to promote jobs and justice and I will read a little bit of it to you. We commit ourselves to a campaign at the community, provincial and federal levels to mobilize workers, the unemployed and all those victimized by the economic crisis around the need for full employment. We will promote local campaigns to identify unfilled needs, economic opportunities and local projects that will create jobs and enrich life for the community level. We commit ourselves to a march for jobs campaign and Cliff Pilkey will march from Thunder Bay to Toronto which will make every Canadian aware that full employment is a major priority of this nation. Plans of action in this march for jobs campaign will include marches, rallies, meetings, and actions.

Now, I have read enough to let you have a sense of the point I am trying to make. The point I am making is this: We are all here on this floor at this Convention, participating in making decisions. It was not good enough to have the rhetoric. You, the delegates, directed the Committee to come back with an action plan, so the Committee came back with an action plan and that action plan by its very nature has to be delivered by the federations and the district labour council. You should not be voting in favour of those plans if you are not a member of those federations and the district labour councils. You should not be voting in favour of those plans if you are not a member of those federations, both the federation and the district labour council. And we are not forcing a local to join the district labour council or the federation. We are saying to them: if you do not join the district labour council and the federation, you have no business being on the floor of the Convention deciding an action plan which has to be delivered by those federations.

I want to tell you that in the province of Ontario when the OFL has a campaign which comes from the CLC, such as the one they have had on affirmative action, on day care campaigns, on the campaign against racism, the delivery system there is the district labour councils and we who are delegates to this Convention have a responsibility to be in those federations and in the district labour councils delivering what we have voted on here. So, I urge you to reject the recommendation of this Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Just a moment, let me have your attention. I am getting bombarded with questions up here about procedure, and I simply put it to you that we were a little late starting so we will continue to debate and make up for that time that we lost in the beginning.

MR. A PAPINEAU (PSAC, National Component, Local 70344): I would like you to take a good look at that face you see in the screen because that is a face of a faceless public servant and the area I come from is Ottawa or perhaps fuddle-duddle land. When I came into the labour movement twenty years ago, I knew nothing about your organization. I was given a handbook by the Canadian Labour

Congress on steward training, a correspondence course; and from that point on we went on to build one of the biggest unions of Canada, the Public Service Alliance, 180,000 at this point in time. In 1968, we had the pleasure and the privilege to come into the Canadian Labour Congress. We were a new breath into your system. We came and we gave it a new direction, a new idea, a new dimension. We went on to grow. So, there is my union growing, there is the Canadian Labour Congress growing, the federations have grown and the district labour councils are growing and I get a little disturbed. I have always supported the district labour councils but we are not affiliated with it, but we were there when you wanted us, we were there when you needed us, we were there on Parliament with 100,000 people, we were there and we were also in Kitchener for those women that were being fired from Dare Cookies. We were there and were were at the federation, we have always been at the federation. We do not shout or yell because that is the nature of the public servant to be unassuming, humble! That is the only way we will survive. So the question is how much more do you want from us? We are there, we are participating. All right we may be not getting involved in certain elements or certain levels of your union but we are delivering. I have been on almost every picket line that has been put forward. I have even been in the UAW picket line in Ottawa, that is only 10 or 12 people.

The Steelworkers are not in Ottawa but we made sure their kids got Christmas presents and got support and got food baskets from the Ottawa-Hull area. We understand your problem. The button I am wearing says: "Count me in" but what you are proposing is to count me out and I say how much more can we take?

We are there, we are giving you the money, we are giving you our support. Maybe we do things differently, maybe we are strange, but we are under a political master. I identify myself in Ottawa as Alfred the silent, I cannot give my name, but you have to bear with us, we are there physically and I get a little tired of the Ontario Federation characters here who suggested that we are not doing anything.

I have yet to be told to get off any picket line. I have yet to be told to get in any federation of labour and I have yet to be told to get in any district labour council. They are always glad to see me.

MR. T. MEAGHER (Ontario Federation of Labour): I move that this subject matter be referred back to the Committee with instructions to bring in a positive recommendation at the earliest possible time. Seconded.

ACTING CHAIRMAN (Mr. Montgomery): It has been duly moved and seconded, the motion to refer is not debatable. All those in favour of the motion to refer, please show. Down. Those opposed. The motion to refer is carried.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I think it is pretty obvious, based on the representative vote here this evening, that the people opposed to the Committee's recommendation have pretty well carried the day. Now, if that is representative of the Convention tommorrow morning, you have nothing to fear; but I think that there are a lot of empty seats out there. It can wait until the morning.

MR. T. MEAGHER (Ontario Federation of Labour): I am willing to take my chances with the rest of the delegates tomorrow morning because I believe the logic of the argument that can be put forward will stand up before real trade unionists and I urge all the other delegates who are on the same side of the question as I am to come back tomorrow morning and we will carry the day.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The Committee has the problem that it has a number of resolutions that deal with this but they are constitutional changes, so it has to select the appropriate one, come back with it in the affirmative and it will require a two-thirds majority in order to carry a constitutional change. Now, taking the suggestion of Terry Meagher, why can we not just let it go and put it around in the morning and get it behind us.

On this understanding, the Convention is adjourned until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

The Convention adjourned at 9:45 p.m.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1984
Morning Session

The Convention was called to order at 9:40 a.m. by CLC President Dennis McDermott.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The delegates should know that this is the Labour College Band, a group of people who got together last year, or a couple of years ago, while they were students at the Labour College. They are Chris Hart of the IWA in Nelson, B.C.; Wayne Laflamme and Julienne Dionne from the Steelworkers' Local 6500 in Sudbury; and John Bond, a professor at the University of Ottawa and also an instructor and tutor at the Labour College. Thank you very much.

I call on the Chairman of the Credentials Committee.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

MR. I. REILLY (Chairman of the Credentials Committee): The fourth partial report of the Creditials Committee:

Fraternal Delegates	3
ICFTU Representative	1
Congress Officers	4
Representatives of Affiliated Organizations	101
Federations of Labour	20
Labour Councils	84
Locals of Affiliated Organizations	2,120
Directly Chartered Unions	17
	2,350

I move the adoption of the report, seconded by L. Nicholson, Committee Secretary.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of the adoption of the report of the committee please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried.

Bob White will give you the order for this morning.

MR. ROBERT WHITE (General Vice-President, CLC): Your program of business for the Convention today starts off with the election of officers and then we will have the report of the Committee on Government Employees. In the night session, yesterday, there was a referral back to the Constitution Committee dealing with the affiliation of Labour Councils, and the Constitution Committee was mandated to bring in a concurrence resolution. They will bring that on after the report of the Committee on Government Employees this morning and then, following that, we will go to the International Affairs Committee.

MS. S. McCOMBIE (HREBIU, Local 280): I would just like some assurance from the chair that we are in fact going to get to international affairs, we have not talked about it at all, we have not talked about peace, and we all know what happens after elections, people leave en masse.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): If you come up here, we will sign it in blood for you, is that all right?

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are going through a new procedure. I call on Louis Laberge, President of the Quebec Federation of Labour, to conduct the elections.

MR. L. LABERGE (Elections Chairman): We shall start with a review of the laws governing elections. I request your full attention because it is somewhat complicated. As you know, the Constitution has been amended and we must proceed accordingly. Offices will be filled in the usual order: president, secretary-treasurer, executive vice-president, etc. A majority of votes cast is required before any candidate is declared elected. If there is no such majority, then there will be a second ballot. Of course, as you know, we now have fourteen vice-presidents-at-large, of whom at least six must be women.

As soon as we start distributing the ballots, please pull up your chairs as close as possible to the tables, making it easier for scrutineers to move around. The list of scrutineers has already been distributed and the doors will be closed during the votes. Nobody will be coming in, nor going out. As soon as you have your ballot-book, please put your name and local number on it so that, if you lose it, someone could bring it back to you, because you will not be getting a second set. Visitors and guests must be in their reserved places. Only delegates with their badges will be allowed to vote. Broadly speaking, this about covers the rules.

All right, we are going to ask the Sergeants-at-Arms to close the doors and we are going to distribute the ballots.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Will the Sergeants-at-Arms at the doors inform the delegates outside that they have to take their seats because the doors will be tiled.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Okay. We are ready to distribute the ballots.

As you know, nominations had to be in by late yesterday afternoon. That was done and we have the nominations with us and the scrutineers are distributing the ballots. I will be starting very slowly at the top of the list and coming down.

The first office declared open is, of course, the office of President of the Canadian Labour Congress.

There was only one nomination, and it is that of Brother Dennis McDermott, a member of the United Automobile Workers.

I ask Brother McDermott to please come in front to accept the nomination.

MR. D. McDERMOTT (President, Canadian Labour Congress): Mr. Chairman, I accept with thanks.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Will you oblige, Mr. President, and repeat after me:

MR. D. McDERMOTT (President, Canadian Labour Congress): In accepting nomination, I swear and affirm that I will faithfully support the Constitution, principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Now, Mr. President, I can declare you elected President of the Canadian Labour Congress. Congratulations.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. I will say very briefly that there is no way to describe in words the feelings I have at this moment. I want to express to you thanks and my gratitude for the vote of confidence. We have never had an easy time, we are going through one of our hardest. I know that with the kind of solidarity that we are developing at this Convention, the next two years are going to be rough and they are going to be tough. I say to our adversaries you haven't seen anything yet. We are just beginning to march.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): The next office declared open is that of the Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Labour Congress. We have received one nomination for that post also, that is Shirley Carr, from the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

Shirley Carr, would you come here please. Do you accept?

MS. SHIRLEY CARR (Executive Vice-President, CLC): I do accept. In accepting nomination, I swear and affirm that I will faithfully support the Constitution, the principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): It is my pleasure to declare you elected as Secretary-Treasurer.

MS. SHIRLEY CARR (Secretary-Treasurer, CLC): As you all know, I have been, for the past ten years, Executive Vice-President of the CLC. Without the support and the dedication of the rank-and-file and of the leadership of this great movement of ours, I would not have been able to do the job for those ten years on your behalf. I pledge to you that I will continue to fight for this movement on behalf of all of Canada and the people that we represent, and will try to work just as hard as Secretary-Treasurer as I have in my other position. And I want to say how grateful I am to all of you, and the humility that I feel. I thank you very much.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you, Shirley. The next offices declared open are for the two Executive Vice-Presidents of the Canadian Labour Congress.

This is another case where we received only two nominations. Richard Mercier of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. Brother Mercier, do you accept the nomination?

MR. RICHARD MERCIER (United Food and Commercial Workers International Union): Yes, Brother Chairman, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): The other nomination is that of Richard Martin, President of the Manitoba Federation of Labour. Brother Martin, do you accept the nomination?

MR. RICHARD MARTIN (Manitoba Federation of Labour): Yes, I do.

I, Richard Martin, in accepting nomination, swear and affirm that I will faithfully support the Constitution, principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you.

Brother Mercier, do you accept the nomination?

MR. RICHARD MERCIER (United Food and Commercial Workers International Union): In accepting nomination, I swear and affirm that I will support the Constitution, principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): It pleases me to declare elected by acclamation Brother Richard Mercier and Brother Richard Martin to the positions of Executive Vice-President.

MR. RICHARD MARTIN (Executive Vice-President, CLC): I just want to say to the delegates that I am very pleased to have been picked to work with the team. I am a team player, we will need team players in the coming two years. We do have tremendous challenges ahead but the confidence that I have received from you and the confidence that I have in you, I know, will work with the whole team to see our way through and build a stronger, more united and a tougher labour movement that will serve us well into the next century.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Brother Richard Mercier.

MR. RICHARD MERCIER (Executive Vice-President): It is in all humility but also with great pleasure that I accept this mark of your confidence. The load of responsibilities is bound to increase but the team you have elected, the confidence you placed in us so strengthens us that collectively we ought to succeed within the next two years in putting back to work the men and women of Canada and in forcing the various levels of government to give to all workers, both men and women, our rights. But this mandate cannot be carried out successfully without you, every single one of you. Once again, my sincere thanks.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Now, things are becoming a bit more complicated.

As you know, we have also adopted an amendment of the Constitution so that the General Vice-Presidents are going to be now eight rather than six as before. We have received nine nominations.

As I will read their names, I will also give you their number. Each one has been allotted a number and you will be able to vote by number if you so wish.

Brother Gérard Docquier of the Steelworkers.

Brother Docquier, do you accept the nomination?

MR. GERARD DOCQUIER (United Steelworkers of America, President): I do.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Would you step over here. Brother Docquier, number one.

John Fryer, National Union of Provincial Government Emlpoyees, number two. John Fryer, do you accept nomination?

MR. JOHN FRYER (National Union of Provincial Government Employees): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Step over here.

Number three, Jim D. Hunter, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers. Brother Hunter, do you accept nomination? Come up front.

Sister Huguette Plamondon of United Food and Commercial Workers, number five.

Sister Plamondon, do you accept the nomination?

MS. HUGUETTE PLAMONDON (United Food and Commercial Workers, Local 358): I do, Mr. Chairman.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number six, I got a bit mixed up with mike five and number five, I am coming back. Number four, Jack Munro, International Woodworkers of America. Brother Munro, do you accept the nomination?

MR. JACK MUNRO (International Woodworkers of America): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number six. Jeff Rose, Canadian Union of Public Employees. Do you accept nomination?

MR. JEFF ROSE (President, Canadian Union of Public Employees): Brother Chairman, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number seven, Pierre Samson of the Public Service Alliance of Canada.

MR. PIERRE SAMSON (Public Service Alliance of Canada President): I accept, Mr. Chairman.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number eight, Joy Thorkelson, United Fishermen & Allied Workers.

MS. JOY THORKELSON (United Fishermen & Allied Workers, Local 31): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number nine, Bob White, United Automobile Workers. Brother White, do you accept?

Step up front. All repeat after me:

"In accepting nomination, I swear and affirm that I will faithfully support the Constitution, principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress."

If at all possible, could we impress upon you the absolute necessity that you vote by number. It will make it that much easier for the scrutineers and we would ask you not to fold the ballots. You can put them face down in the box. Nobody will know what you are voting for, but please try and vote by number. It will make it that much easier.

Please use ballot number five.

Now I will repeat the names and the numbers so that you will not get mixed up and forget you have to vote for eight. Any ballot with less than eight votes will be spoiled.

Number one, Gérard Docquier. Number two, John Fryer. Number three, Jim D. Hunter. Number four, Jack Munro, Number five, Huguette Plamondon. Number six, Jeff Rose. Number seven, Pierre Samson, Number eight, Joy Thorkelson, Number nine, Robert White.

You have to vote for eight and please vote by number. Ballot number five.

Are you ready? All right. If you please, collect the ballots. Now that the ballots are collected, the President of the Canadian Labour Congress will continue with the affairs of the Convention.

The doors are still closed until the ballots are all collected. As soon as the scrutineers tell me that the ballots are all collected, we will open the doors.

MR. L. BRIGDEN (USWA, Local 7253): The election of a new Secretary-Treasurer follows the retirement of our former secretary-treasurer Don Montgomery, and, as one who has had some experience at being a treasurer of a national organization, I understand the trials and tribulations of that job. On behalf of all present, I would like to thank Don Montgomery for his years of service.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' COMMITTEE

MR. P. SAMSON (Government Employees Committee Chairman): I would like to refer the delegates at this time to document No. 14, the report of the Government Employees' Committee.

The Government Employees Committee met to consider resolution GE-1 to GE-15. Resolutions GE-1, GE-12, and GE-13 were referred to the Legislative Committee. The Government Employees' Committee dealt with the remainder. Resolutions GE-2, GE-3 and GE-15 deal with the collective bargaining rights of public employees. The Committee recommends concurrence in resolution GE-2:

> "WHEREAS it is the policy of the Canadian Labour Congress that all public sector workers should have full bargaining rights; and
>
> "WHEREAS this goal has not yet been achieved;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress reaffirm its commitment and continue to press the federal and provincial governments for full bargaining rights for all public sector employees."

Seconded by Marilyn White, Committee member.

MR. J. BERGERON (PSAC, Executive Vice-President): I was not sure whether I would speak in favour or against. The resolution says that the Canadian Labour Congress should reaffirm its commitment and continue to press governments. It makes me quite happy to see that the CLC intends to continue to press, nevertheless, I wish the CLC would exert more pressure. Let me tell you about a recent example.

Some public servants are trying to obtain the right to free collective bargaining; they are the employees working at the House of Commons. During a campaign for their organization, we applied for certification to the Canada Labour Relations Board. Believe it or not, the Canadian government, which is supposed to be the government of all Canadians, which is supposed to represent the interests of all Canadians, challenged the Commons public servants' right to apply for certification, alleging that the House of Commons enjoys certain privileges, one of which being that public servants working there are not entitled to organize, nor to assert their rights like other workers. Even though the Canada Labour Code states that the Canada Labour Relations Board has jurisdiction over an association situated within one province if this is recognized to be for the good of the whole of Canada, well the federal government challenged the fact that the Canada Labour Relations Board had jurisdiction.

I can well understand why the government of Canada is denying this right for employees at the House of Commons; the House of Commons is not working for the good of Canada, it is working for the good of MPs.

The government stretched the joke even further. After the Canada Labour Relations Board had recognized it had jurisdiction, the Government of Canada filed an application for injunction in federal court, in an attempt to restrict the jurisdiction of the Canada Labour Relations Board. But we just had good news! This past Tuesday, a federal court judge dismissed the government's appeal. The Commons public servants are to be recognized as a certified unit.

But this is not the end of the joke. Two weeks ago, during the public hearings of a Committee on services to MPs, we learned that the Committee had unanimously adopted the introduction of a bill allowing Commons employees to unionize. The bill was never proposed in the House, nor was it ever posted anywhere. Nevertheless, the Canadian government keeps on spending the taxpayers' money in federal court; pretty soon, in an appeal to the Supreme Court, the government will be challenging a very basic right, the right of their public servants to have a union and to bargain their working conditions. These public servants are workers like any worker in Canada; they are merely claiming their right to be remunerated for their services and the right to bargain their working conditions.

MR. DENIS GAGNON (Union of Postal-Communications Employees, PSAC): Of course, I am speaking in favour of the resolution. I also want to point out that all delegates at this Convention remember what happened, shortly after the CLC Convention in Winnipeg, when Bill C-124 was adopted by the Canadian government. I want you to remember the consequences of that bill for public servants. I want delegates at this Convention to remember that, for two years now, the great majority of bargaining units within the public service have lost the right to bargain collectively. As a crowning gift, some of them even had social benefits and salary rates, agreed to and signed by both parties, taken out of their collective agreement. I would also like delegates at this Convention to keep in mind that for some locked-in groups, Bill C-124 will be in force until 1985.

I would like you to keep in mind that when Finance Minister Lalonde presented his budget papers to the press, he gave us a so-called right to collective bargaining. This was on paper, but upon reading Lalonde's budget, we discover that similar restrictions, some far worse than those contained in Bill C-124, are still there. If public servants found the pill rather bitter to swallow, these past two years, they are likely to find it even more bitter in the coming years.

Yesterday we adopted an action plan. Item five of the plan stresses no concessions and the right to collective bargaining. I say to you that the action plan together with today's much-discussed resolution is bound to be put to profit these coming months, probably in July when we begin negotiations for certain groups. With Bill C-124, we have been deprived of our right to bargain and I am not forgetting the CLC's unanimous decision at the Winnipeg Convention. Although we are starting to gain ground again, let me tell you that we are not yet out of the woods with regard to restrictive measures.

The Public Service Alliance of Canada has an action plan and needs the support of all delegates at this convention, of all CLC affiliates. It has not been easy; we were not able to get rid of Bill C-124. We must get rid of the less evident restrictions contained in Lalonde's budget. Once again, we ask all unions affiliated to the CLC to support us; we need it.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the main motion of concurrence, all those in favour please signify. Opposed? Carried.

MR. P. SAMSON (Chairman, Government Employees Committee): Resolution GE-15, as amended:

"WHEREAS major groups of public employees are outright denied the right to strike and free collective bargaining, while others are seeing these rights eroded as increasing numbers of workers are being 'designated' as performing 'essential services'; and

"WHEREAS numerous workers have been fired and union leaders jailed since 1980 because of the denial of these rights; and

"WHEREAS the last Convention instructed the Executive to launch a campaign to defend the right to strike, and it has not done so;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention reaffirm its commitment to a Canada-wide campaign to win the unlimited right to strike for all public employees, and instruct the Executive to launch such a campaign to include:

1. Mass action to demand the repeal of all existing anti-strike legislation;

2. Widescale distribution of educational materials for the public and among all affiliates; and

3. Full support for affiliated unions that decide to defy repressive legislation."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by Bill Reid, Committee secretary.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Opposed? Carried.

MR. P. SAMSON (Government Employees Committee Chairman): Resolution GE-5, GE-9 and GE-14 deal with the Federal Public Compensation Restraint Act (C-124). The Committee recommends concurrence in the following composite resolution which covers these resolutions:

"WHEREAS the federal government introduced the Public Sector Compensation Restraint Act in June of 1982; and

"WHEREAS this Act of Parliament singles out a small sector of the labour force for special punitive treatment; and

"WHEREAS this Act harms large numbers of women workers by:

1. Widening differences in pay between women and men; and

2. Preventing negotiated improvements in paid maternity leave and child care; and

"WHEREAS the Canadian labour movement aims to safeguard the rights of workers and promote the principle of free collective bargaining;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress demand that the federal government immediately rescind the Public Sector Compensation Restraint Act; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC, in conjunction with the provincial federations of labour, mount an education and mobilization campaign in support of this demand; and;

1. That part of the education campaign focus on how women's rights such as maternity leave, child care, are affected by these controls;

2. That concrete support be organized for locals that take on this fight."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by Kealey Cummings, Committee member.

MR. ROBERT McGARRY (President, LCUC): Speaking in support of the Committee's recommendation, we certainly need full support of the public service unions. Unions covered under the Crown Corporations legislation are going to take united efforts to defeat legislation that takes away from collective bargaining. It does not matter if you negotiate good contracts with your employer, if, with one sweep of a pen, bills can be passed that take away the negotiated contract and put in whatever figure that government wishes to put in. Our organization negotiated a good contract, that, with the sweep of a pen, was reduced to the six and five program.

There has to be an education program. The Congress' position concerning political education as well has to be put into it, because no matter what kind of contract we negotiate, governments in power that write off your contract with the stroke of a pen get support. It can be seen in B.C.; it can be seen in the federal government; it can be seen in the Ontario government. There has to be a real campaign in the public sector, more to make them aware of this type of governments and what goes on. Unions that take the action have to be fully supported.

MR. ROBIN WYLIE (CUPE, Local 2323): I am in opposition to the resolution, for the basic reason that education from above is no substitute for rebuilding our union locals on the shop floor. And I want to give you an example, and that is the failure to fight federal wage control two summers ago. In Ottawa, a demonstration was called by the Public Service Alliance at 24 Sussex Drive in Ottawa. Nine hundred people showed up during the imposition of wage controls.

But did the Public Service Alliance build upon that immediate support? The answer is no. Instead the turn was towards an education campaign and the problem was that in this business of education from above, we lost the support of the people on the shop floor for an immediate fight against wage control.

The problem with this resolution is that it reflects many of the same problems that we talked about yesterday. On the one hand, it is called an action program, but again it is sort of abstract. The delegates should reject this resolution and push forward measures for health and safety, and a fight against extra shift time and various items like that, to rebuild involvement and not to simply rely on education from above.

MS. JUDY DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): This is a very important resolution, especially in light of the policy paper that we passed a few days ago on Affirmative Action for women. That policy paper said a lot of things, but among the points that it emphasized were that a common collective bargaining strategy, throughout the unions affiliated to the Labour Congress, was really central to winning equality for women on the job. This policy that talks about the right to strike for public employees also ties in very clearly what that right to strike for public employees means for the nearly 40 per cent women members of this Canadian Labour Congress and the women members of the work force.

Many of the rights that have been won for people in this society in general were pioneered by the labour movement, and it is going to be exactly the same thing on women's issues. It was the strike by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and it was also the fight by the Public Service Alliance of Canada that first established in this country paid maternity leave for women workers. If we are going to make major breakthroughs on paid maternity leave, if we are going to make major breakthroughs on equal pay for work of equal value and on all of the other things that we talked about in our Affirmative Action policy paper, it has to mean that all of the workers in the work force in Canada, have to have the right to strike.

If we look in the Province of Ontario we have had legislation on the books for years that denies the right to strike for large sections of the public service. It is in fact women workers who are denied the right to strike more than any other group in this society. If we count, I think it is altogether something like 10 or 15 per cent of women in the work force who actually have the right to strike in Ontario. They are denied it by the Crown Employees Collective Bargaining Act, and the Hospital Labour Disputes Arbitration Act. Also many of them, over the last couple of years, have been denied it by federal legislation. With our hands tied behind our back in collective bargaining, we are never going to be able to achieve equality for women in the workplace.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion of concurrence, all those in favour please signify. Opposed? Carried.

MR. P. SAMSON (Government Eployees Committee Chairman): Resolution GE-6, as amended: covering also GE-4 and 11:

> "WHEREAS Canada has recently adopted a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and
>
> "WHEREAS public employees should enjoy the same rights to participation in the political processes as any other citizens; and
>
> "WHEREAS legislative and regulatory restrictions exist on the rights of public employees to stand for election and engage in partisan political activity; and
>
> "WHEREAS this is a denial by federal, provincial and municipal governments of basic democratic rights;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress urge the Government of Canada and the governments of offending provinces and municipalities to repeal any legislation, regulations or by-laws that restrict the rights of public employees to participate fully in the political process."

On the resolution, as amended, I move concurrence, seconded by Brother Reid.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Opposed? Carried.

MR. PIERRE SAMSON (Chairman, Government Employees Committee): Resolution GE-10 deals with the related question of the freedom of speech of public employees and the Committee recommends concurrence:

> "WHEREAS federal public sector workers cannot participate fully in the Canadian political process; and
>
> "WHEREAS the political rights of federal public sector workers are limited to attendance at political meetings and contribution of money to a political party; and
>
> "WHEREAS the democratic rights of federal public sector workers are denied;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress petition the federal government to amend the Public Service Staff Relations Act to ensure the right of public service employees' freedom of speech on matters not directly related to their duties or the department for which they work."

On behalf of the Committee, seconded by Sister White, I move concurrence.

MR. ALBERT PAPINEAU (Public Service Alliance of Canada, Local 70344): I am delighted with that resolution. When I was coming to this Convention I approached my boss and told him I was coming to this Canadian Labour Congress. I told him I was going to a conference and I was going to visit the Pope. He said Jean-Paul, I said no, Dennis McDermott. I said, "Do you have any words for Dennis McDermott?" But because he is a Liberal, I can not repeat what he said here. In Ottawa, where the freedoms of the public servants are unreal, we have no freedoms. We are allowed to join a party, we are allowed to give money and that is it. But the hypocrisy of the Canadian mentality is such that we do get involved. We loan our house for receptions, we loan our cars to get people to the polls, we loan our spouses to assist in the telephoning, stuffing of envelopes, anything to get a vote.

I think if you check the audience here today you would find probably more Progressive Conservatives here than there are in Parliament. I think that you would also find there are more Liberal Party members here than there are in Parliament. And certainly more NDP members here than there are in Parliament. Canadians, in their practical approach to everything — I guess it must be our immigrant parents that did this for us — find ways to break the rules and go around all the regulations and do the proper thing. In spite of oppressive legislation, democracy triumphs.

MS. JEAN RICE (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 603): I rise in opposition to the Committee's recommendation of concurrence. I do that for a very specific reason, and that's the last phrase in the whereas and the resolved: "on matters not directly related to the duties of the Department for which they work." I hope that someone gets up and refers this back and has that phrase deleted. I work for the Ministry of Human Resources in British Columbia. I also chair the Social Educational and Health Services Component.

I think that they should have brought in a recommendation of non-concurrence or an amendment to delete that last phrase. As I said, I work for the Ministry of Human Resources in the Province of British Columbia and I chair the component that represents all the workers in that Ministry. I am sure that many of you are aware of the cuts in social services in the Province of British Columbia. The members that I represent are extremely concerned about those cuts and about the price that clients that we serve are paying for the right wing attack of the government in B.C.

On behalf of the members of my component, recently I made a statement condemning the government for the cuts in social services. About three weeks ago, I received a phone call from the head of personnel of the Ministry of Human Resources and was called in for a disciplinary meeting. Their position was, that, because I am employed by the Ministry, I was not allowed to make statements that were opposed to the Ministry I was employed by. The statement that I made in no way identified me as an employee of the Ministry of Human Resources. I was not making any statement about any program that I was directly involved in, but I am an employee of that Ministry. I spoke as the elected representative of the members of my component, and yet the Ministry took the position that I was not allowed to make those kinds of statements. This resolution, the way it stands with that last statement, means that the very people who know what the problems are with the programs of government are not allowed to make statements. Those people who understand what the problems are, with the cuts that the governments are making, what kind of effect there will be on services we provide as government employees, those people will not be able to say anything. Those people will be gagged. There has been a whole lot of discipline in my component over the last few months because the people who provide the services to citizens in British Columbia care about the services they provide. They are concerned about the clients, they are concerned about public safety, they are concerned about the children they serve. And yet, those are the very people who are gagged and who are not allowed to say anything. As it stands, this resolution is a violation of the free speech of people who care about children and people and the elderly and aged, and I urge that the delegates reject the Committee's recommendation and I hope that someone will refer this resolution back to the Committee to be amended.

MR. P. SAMSON (Government Employees' Committee Chairman): On the suggestion just made by the previous speaker on three, the matter that a motion of referral be submitted to the Committee for their consideration that the last phrase starting with the word "on matters not directly related to their duties of the Department for which they work", the Committee would be ready to look at an amendment motion, if someone moves the motion.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Why, you do not need to do that. You are willing to make the accommodation to the sister's remarks, therefore there is no purpose in referring.

MR. PIERRE SAMSON (Government Employees Committee Chairman): Resolution GE-10, as amended:

> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress petition the federal government to amend the Public Service Staff Relations Act to ensure the right of public service employees' freedom of speech."

On the recommendation as amended, I move concurrence, seconded by Brother Reid.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Are you ready to vote. All those in favour of the Committee recommendation of concurrence please signify. Opposed?

Democracy is working.

MR. P. SAMSON (Government Employees Committee Chairman): Brother Chairman, the Committee dealt with two additional resolutions and recommends in concurrence Resolution GE-8:

> "WHEREAS the Divisional Court of Ontario has ruled that Ontario's attempt to suspend public sector collective bargaining violated the Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and
>
> "WHEREAS in making this ruling the Divisional Court found that the right to organize, bargain collectively and strike were protected by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress re-assert its absolute opposition to discriminatory wage controls on public sector workers, and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC disseminate to affiliates information on the Ontario Divisional Court decision and similar legal proceedings."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by W. Findlay.

MS. S. VALLANCE (NUPGE-OPSEU): Under normal circumstances we do not have free collective bargaining in the public sector. Fifty-five thousand members within OPSEU in the Ontario Public Service are denied free collective bargaining. They are denied the right to bargain classifications. They are denied the right to bargain for any kind of technological change. Bill 179 — basically a five per cent ceiling — denied bargaining of all sorts. They turned around and said you shall get five per cent and that is the end of bargaining. We had this new Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Divisional Court ruling said that part of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is that you should be allowed to bargain collectively, you should have the right to strike.

We are told that we are not supposed to have that right. Without the right to bargain collectively, without the right to talk about technological change, the right to bargain for equal pay for work of equal value and classification systems, we do not have any collective bargaining power. We are in the hands of Bill Davis and his space cadets that hang out in Queen's Park. Those people do not understand, they live in a dream world. They believe we are satisfied with the kind of working conditions we work under. Women up in Sudbury are told to bring in cushions and pillows in order to accommodate to their work on VDTs. Then they tell us that we are not entitled to negotiate ergonomics and technological change.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion all those in favour of the Committee's recommendation. Opposed? Carried.

MR. P. SAMSON (Chairman of the Government Employees Committee): Thank you Brother Chairman. The next resolution is incorrectly identified on Document 14. It should read Resolution GE-7:

> "BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress give strong support to federal public sector unions who try to obtain catch-up pay increases when their contracts expire this year and that the CLC ask the provincial federations and their affiliates do the same."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by Brother Cummings.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Motion is one of concurrence. All those in favour. Opposed?

That apparently completes the business of the Committee so they will step down with our thanks.

CONSTITUTION AND LAWS COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are now going to deal with the referral of last night on the question of mandatory affiliation to Labour Councils and Federations.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): Last night the delegates referred back to the Committee its recommendation of non-concurrence in Resolutions C-16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. The Committee on Constitution and Laws has met and, taking the direction of the delegates, we are bringing back one of those Resolutions, C-22, with a recommendation of concurrence to cover Resolutions C-16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21. I would advise the delegates that there was no unanimity in the Committee and there will be Committee members who will speak on this resolution. Resolution C-22 in which we are recommending concurrence reads as follows:

> "WHEREAS the labour movement is only as strong as the unity and solidarity of the membership; and
>
> "WHEREAS the ability of the labour movement to realize the policies of the Congress and the federations is directly related to the strength of labour councils; and
>
> "WHEREAS the effectiveness of many labour councils is undermined due to lack of participation; and
>
> "WHEREAS it is a basic principle that those who determine the policies of the labour movement must participate and be responsible for implementing these policies at the local level;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that Article 5, Section 7 of the Canadian Labour Congress Constitution be amended by adding:

"'Any locals, unions, branches or lodges which are not affiliated in good standing with the federation of labour and labour councils in their vicinity, where such exist, shall not be entitled to recognition or representation at the Convention'."

And on behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence in Resolution C-22 seconded by Cliff Pilkey of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We will start out on mike number six.

MR. J. PARROT (CUPW, President): This resolution is important. It is one which can carry a discussion that will look like trying to divide a labour movement, when it is one resolution that, on the contrary, has for purpose to unite our labour movement and make it a lot stronger and a lot more effective especially. The district labour councils across the country are trying to do a tremendous job.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): What's your point of order, where are you?

MR. GUY JACOB (PSAC, Executive Vice-President): If you refer to the French text of Resolution 22, it is not the same as the English version. In French, it reads: "Any locals, unions, branches or lodges which are not affiliated in good standing with the federation of labour or labour councils", while in English it says: "and labour councils". It is not the same thing. It could be either one or the other in French.

MR. J. FRYER (Constitution and Laws Committee Chairman): The brother is quite right, that in the French text, it does say "ou" which means "or", and in the English, it says "and" which in French is "et", so it is not the same word. We would be happy therefore to amend the French version of the resolution to read the "and".

MR. JEAN-CLAUDE PARROT (CUPW, President): This resolution from the debate last night looks like it was trying to divide the labour movement. On the contrary, if you look at the intent of the resolution, the intent is to get together at a level that is very important — the level of the federation obviously — the level of the district labour council. The district labour councils are very often told, by some people, that they are run by a bunch of people that do not represent the labour movement. If it is true in some cases, which I doubt very much, it is probably because we are not there as affiliates. It is probably because we are not playing our role, because if we were in every district labour council across the country, then they would be really representative of the labour movement.

In the Canadian Union of Postal Workers we, at some point in time, changed our constitution to force our locals to affiliate to the district labour council. It was not necessarily a popular move in our union either, at the beginning. It was a tough move; our locals were very upset about it. We told them instead of being upset, why don't you go, why don't you have your representation, participate. Today, across the country we have members of CUPW in I don't know how many executives of district labour councils. We are there and our locals now are not talking any more about the money it costs to be there, they are talking about how important it is, about all the things they can do.

The resolution is asking that all the affiliates make their contribution, not only financially, but also by participation. We have adopted very important policies at this Convention, like we do at every Convention, but what we are adopting more and more at these conventions is the organization of national campaigns. I never expected the President of the CLC or the Executive Council to carry out campaigns alone. They need the people in the field to do that, and, in order to do that, we have to be there and participate. It is true that some affiliates that are not affiliated to district labour council sometime give their share anyway in participation, but it is not happening regularly.

Since 1976, if we look back a little, I do not know how many campaigns the district labour councils have been asked to carry out, but I have some examples. They were asked to organize the picketing in local functions on the day of protest on October 14, 1976. They were asked to organize for the Interest Rates Rally on November 1981. They were asked to organize for the ERA campaign. They were asked to organize strike support for local and national strikes. They were asked to get involved in the fight-back against plant closings. They were asked to organize for the Jobs First campaign in 1977. They were asked to get involved in public education in the trade union movement, and many other involvements in coalitions to fight repressive government policies and actions. How can we expect the district labour council to play that role if we are not there, and if we do not give them our financial contribution? At this Convention we have adopted policies on all kinds of national campaigns. We talk about political action strategy and negotiation strategy. Both issues are very important. The issue of jobs, the issue of affirmative action, the issue of reduced working time and many others, some for the government employees, like we have just adopted. We are going to have to be there if we want these national campaigns to be carried out properly and I hope this resolution will pass. In 1980 we missed it by 12 votes.

MR. S. FOX (ACTWU, President): It may surprise some of my friends to see me on the "con" mike — Sam Fox, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers, Member of the Executive Council of the CLC and candidate for the next Council. However, I want to make it plain that my passionate conviction is that every local in the CLC should be affiliated to their local council and should be affiliated to their provincial federation. I served three years as vice-president, so I do not have a mere theoretical appreciation of the council. Many years of my life were spent in municipal affairs. Several times in that capacity my rear end was burned when an affiliate of the CLC, but not an affiliate of the council, went on strike, asked assistance from the council, got it and never affiliated or was heard from since. This is no way for a strong and united labour movement.

Having said all that, I will remind you that I was also a member of the Commission on Constitution and Structure that went throughout the country hearing deputations on all matters including this point, and, as was reported yesterday, the Commission was split. The majority, including myself, voted for non-concurrence. I voted for non-concurrence because I felt that, in balance from what we had heard, the unity of the CLC would be adversely affected. I say this with reluctance but I say it with some sense of realism. As early as this morning, it was strongly impressed upon me that there is a danger of certain affiliates, whom I respect and admire in many respects, may find it difficult to adhere to this and may take actions that may further cause disunity. Because of that fact and for no other consideration, I am at the "con" mike.

If it does not pass, I hope that this message, that non-affiliation is a disservice to their own local and to the entire labour movement, is heard; and that, passed or not passed, every local will be affiliated to their labour council and federation so that, at our 1986 Convention, this will not be an issue because everyone will be affiliated freely, voluntarily and enthusiastically.

MR. PAUL FORDER (UAW, Local 275): This resolution is probably the resolution that will alter the course of history for organized labour in Canada. I understand very clearly. The union that I come from has always paid at every single level. I have the privilege of working on behalf of one hundred unions in the Province of Ontario and I go repeatedly to labour councils and they say we do not have too many out tonight. We do not have the resources to carry on the Economic Recovery Alternative program, which was started in March in Ottawa. They say we do not have the staff to go out and recruit and mobilize and organize more people. We do not have an adequate support system to go out and assist those people who are trying to get adequate incomes and adequate fight-back programs in place, because all people are not affiliated to the labour council.

If we look at the Canadian Labour Congress we can be very proud of this institution. We have a democratic institution and I heard the Officers, when they were elected today by acclamation, say they want to fight, and they are for unity, and they are for solidarity, and they want to carry on in the best tradition of labour and fight some battles and start winning more battles and the only way to win battles in Canada, and to stop the onslaught of the employer, is to recruit each and every local union into every level of the central labour body to carry out that task.

We have a principle in this trade union movement of being fair, and we also have a principle of involving people in a participatory way. I listened very carefully to the delegate here on this very microphone on Document Number 14, when he talked about mobilizing and working in conjunction with provincial federations of labour and the concrete support of organizations at the local level.

The bosses are organized. Those Chambers of Commerce that have been fighting for concessions are organized. They have money. Those bosses who have been successfully recruiting people to prevent our workers from receiving adequate remuneration, decent health and safety standards, equal pay for work of equal value, are organized. The Chambers of Commerce, the Boards of Trade, our enemies, are organized and we should join in efforts to organize at the local level. If it is good enough for the UAW and Bob White and his members to have everybody affiliated and it is good enough for Jean-Claude Parrot in CUPW to have all their members affiliated and it is good enough for CWC and Fred Pomeroy to have all his members affiliated and it is good enough for all of the other affiliates like the IWA and Munro to have their people affiliated, what is wrong? The Public Service Alliance has three levels, the local level, they have the national level — and it is an honourable organization — and they have the component level and there is no opting out. They are all in. That is why that organization has grown, that is why we all respect them. That is why they are there being counted when the interest rates rallies are being called, when we are fighting back, when we are trying to get political rights for people and for decency for all of the people in society, I appeal to the Public Service Alliance and those other unions who heretofore have not recognized the value of joining the trade union movement at every single level to reconsider very carefully. Join with us today as Mickey Warner and the CUPE members in Windsor have done, to make that Windsor local a viable community of labour and as Jan Brasbae of the Public Service Alliance has done in Quinte to make that organization representative and vibrant and exciting. Let us have solidarity, let us have strength, let us have unity, let us put this one to bed once and for all, reunite and go out of here in spirit of solidarity.

MR. DON STEWART (NUPGE-OPSEU): I rise in opposition to the Committee's recommendation of concurrence. Last evening, my President stood at this very microphone and indicated a position which I respect but unfortunately am unable to agree with. However, as the President of the Congress indicated in his opening remarks for this Convention, "we are battered and bloodied".

I am quite sure that no one in this room will recognize the difference between the two tactics, whether they are used by the employer, or whether they are used by the unions. I agree with a philosophy that every local union should belong to its district labour council. However, the method of obtaining that result will not be done in this manner. It must be done by participation that is freely given, and, when it is not freely given, it is no participation at all. I have heard some speakers indicate that history can be made. Indeed it can, and the history I understand, in my opinion, would dictate another split in the labour movement, a split that we certainly cannot afford at this time. I ask you to go back to your locals across the country and to get the participation that the district labour council needs by ensuring, by instilling in them the need to do things for each other, and not again by the two-by-four tactics.

Brother Majesky yesterday indicated that he needs funding to do certain things. Well let me tell you some of the things that they do. They assist more volunteers in the City of Toronto which take away jobs from sisters and brothers. There are other sisters and brothers standing outside this room and outside this building from British Columbia and from Ontario who would like to get in here to affiliate with the Canadian Labour Congress but they are unable to, and I would suggest that we try to get labour together and not divide it.

MR. WALLY MAJESKY (President, Labour Council of Metro Toronto): I would like to thank the previous brother who is a non-affiliate of the Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto. I am very much concerned about people who really do not know what is going on in labour councils, but make some very fiery emotional speeches. This is an extremely sensitive issue, and no one has to tell me that it has the potential to divide the trade union movement, and no one, including myself, would want to divide this trade union movement. Neither is this to be seen as an attack on the public sector unions, either Public Service Alliance, or OPSEU or CUPE or Service Employees. These are some of the strongest trade organizations we have, whether they are affiliated to the labour council.

The Public Service Alliance has done an admirable job of encouraging local unions to affiliate to the council. We have other unions in this Congress who also are not affiliated to the labour council, and let us dismiss the myth that we are attacking the public sector unions because that is a myth.

I have agonized over this, I have heard every argument, every reason of why somehow volunteerism works. I have watched for the last ten years as the successor to Brother Fox, as we went out and tried to get local unions involved in the labour councils, arguing for the reasons why they should be in federations. I am out of reasons, I am out of answers. We have tried everything, we have cajoled, we have talked to the leadership. We have probably provided the long range services that no other labour council in this country provides: $70 million dollars worth of co-op housing to house union members in Toronto; one of the most extensive labour education programs in the country; a program of labour community services.

When I leave here and go back to Toronto and try to implement every one of the programs that you are talking about, I am at a wits end of how to do that. I have agonized, I have thought about it and I am a little scared, scared in the sense that I do not know where to go. We talk about trade union solidarity, we talk about a program of action and I have heard every emotional rhetorical speech on the floor of this Convention. The fact of the matter is that to deliver those programs takes bodies, takes time and takes money. I understand some of the problems our affiliates have. I understand the financial burdens local unions have in terms of meeting the per capita.

I have heard them all and at some point in time we are going to have to come to the realization that if we want to be in a labour movement, we are going to have to be at the Congress level, we are going to have to be at the federation level, we are going to have to be at the labour council level. If some people can bite the bullet, without mentioning what organizations paid centrally for all three levels of the trade union movement at some point in time, that decision is going to have to be made by all the organizations. This is for the solidarity of the entire trade union movement. I am not too sure whether we will win this today, but I will tell you something, we are coming back in two years time and we are going to fight a good fight. But if I hear next time the arguments on volunteerism, and we do not pick up those kinds of local unions, and the first thing, I am going to Sam Fox and say: "Sam you made your speech at the last Convention, but we are coming again, we are going to give it a whirl but we do it in terms of solidarity and not to divide us."

MS. BARBARA BYERS (NUPGE-SGEU, Local 1): I stand opposed to the resolution and to the Committee's recommendation of concurrence. Just two weeks ago, I was at my own convention, which is considerably smaller than this, but we also debated affiliation with the federation and labour councils. It was a good and healthy debate, much needed. We decided at that convention that we would stay in the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour. I think that that was a good decision. I think we will be able to work with the Fed, but the debate was needed. We had to do something about the concerns the people had. If we had not acknowledged that, then what we would have done is just try to sweep things under the rug, and people would have gotten angry and they would have considered leaving not only the Fed, but other organizations as well.

In relation to labour councils, we joined in about 1981. This year, we decided that branches would have the option to join, that they had that choice, and that was supported by the convention, and I think again that that is a good decision. What we are considering is the resources that the different branches have, not just money, but the resources of people and time and other activity. In my own branch, which is the largest one in SGEU, we decided that we would not stay with the labour council, but we would work co-operatively with them wherever we could, and we certainly plan to.

We have to look at what the effect of this resolution is. Is the effect to bring people into the house of labour? Is that what the effect is? I do not think it is. I think that it is going to push people out. It is going to disenfranchise people. It will discourage them from joining the CLC. We want more people in and yet, at the same time, we are telling them that the conditions for being in are very restrictive. You have to join this, and you have to join that and you have to join the next thing. We all know that in our own union and in the federations and labour councils the money is tight; but if you are looking to bring in new people then what you are going to end up having happen is that people are going to consider those money questions and they are going to say we cannot afford to join. I do not believe that you can build solidarity just on dollars. I think you have to build it on some unity and some unity of purpose. If you force people into the federation if you force them into the labour councils, they will go home and they will not join, they will not flock to the federations and the labour councils. They will stay out until the last possible moment in 1986 and then they will join and then they will come back to this Convention and we will go through this whole argument again.

The effect on the CLC will be greater than the effect on the labour councils, and I do not think it will be a positive effect for either of them. You cannot force solidarity on unions. You have to work for it. We need to be bringing unions in, we need to be bringing them in on terms that they are willing to be there.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): Let me say to the Convention: be patient, this is an issue over which we have a division of opinion, not necessarily a division of purpose. That is what the democratic process is all about. You are calling for the question, this is a matter of constitutional change. Here is the chairperson. I want to make sure that we permit as much expression as we possibly can; that includes the members of the Commission itself who also want to speak. So I ask you to be patient. Let us talk this one out and then eventually take the vote. Now the person on microphone four, do you want to raise something special or do you just want to speak?

MR. N. RICHARDS (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 1201): I would like to rise on a point of privilege. Previous speakers to the microphone have named unions and there has been references made to public sector unions and I would like to set the record straight, that in my union, the B.C. Government Employees' Union, a member of the National Union of Provincial Government Employees, we do belong to all labour councils and I wanted to set that straight.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. D. McDermott): Fine, and it must be evident to delegates, and it is not unusual in a democracy to have differences of opinion, but this is not idealogical, it is not left versus right or somebody in between, it is not public sector versus private sector, it is not any section versus any other section. It is an honest conviction and a difference of opinion and we hear it out; and after we hear it out, I do not want to hear any more speeches about division in this movement because we are bigger than the issue that is before us and we have to demonstrate that. I am going to go to mike number six, and let me ask you to be as brief as you possibly can so that we may cover as many people as we can. Then I am going to go to Brother Laberge from the Committee.

MR. WILLIAM JACKSON (Kanora-Keewatin and District Labour Council, President): I rise in support of the Committee's recommendation of concurrence. I want to talk to the delegates just very briefly about what happened here two days ago. We had Ed Broadbent come and talk to us and he told us that his particular philosophy, his particular political position did not seem to be very popular in these times according to the polls, but he indicated to us that he was sticking to his principles, that he was going to stay with the programs, the policies of his party. He was not going to change to be popular. Now, in my education in the trade union movement, it is my understanding that one of our underlying principles is the principle of solidarity, the principle of being together, the principle of being shoulder to shoulder with your brothers and sisters. Affiliation to labour councils is one of the ways in which we will show that we are shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters. We have passed, in the last couple of days, a lot of policies, a lot of programs that are going to have to be implemented by a number of the affiliates, the federations and the labour councils. Now is not the time for part-time trade unionists. Now is not the time for the trade unionists who are trade unionists only when it is convenient, when and where they want to be trade unionists, to come to conventions, to go to policy sessions. We need to be trade unionists each and every day of our lives. We need to eat, sleep, and breathe the trade union movement if we want to move forward with the kinds of programs that the Congress is putting forward and if we are going to carry them out and be successful with them.

One of the issues that I have heard talked about is this question of great distance for people where there are not any labour councils. Those who have a concern about that should read the constitutional amendment very carefully. It says "where labour councils exist". My district covers 156,000 square miles. We are not about to ask people who are 800 miles away to come to our labour council meetings, or to affiliate to the labour council. We do have common sense in the labour movement and I hope that common sense will pass this resolution.

MR. LOUIS LABERGE (Quebec Federation of Labour): I am against the Committee's recommendation. Delegates from Quebec, as you were here not so long ago, you know that you gave me the mandate to oppose this resolution.

For nine years I was secretary of the Montreal Labour Council; for eight years President of the Montreal Labour Council; and President of the Quebec Federation of Labour for nineteen years. I think this should be enough to convince anybody that I do not want to weaken, either the councils or the federations. However, in this same hall, in December, the delegates of the Quebec Federation of Labour overwhelmingly defeated such a resolution. This may surprise you, but I think there are good reasons for that.

I know that Wally does not want to divide the labour movement. I believe that Wally would give his life for the movement, if the movement needed it, and I would give my right hand to Wally if I thought he needed it. That is not the issue at all. We have principles in the labour movement, solidarity and all that. We want the councils to be as strong as possible, and we have done things in order to strengthen our labour councils. We have increased our per capita tax to 60 cents per member per month in order to hire a full-time representative of the Quebec Federation of Labour, and, with the arrangement with the Canadian Labour Congress, we have full-time people across Quebec in order to service and to build the labour councils. Our people are paying 60 cents per member per month in per capita tax to the Quebec Federation of Labour. We have done our job.

I have a motto! "Be available, and if you are available you might become useful." If you are available enough you might become useful, and if you are useful enough, for a long enough time, well you might even become necessary, and if you become necessary for a long enough time, who knows, you might even become indispensable. Now this is what the labour councils are all about. This is what federations of labour are all about. You are there, you pitch in, you will get the members. Sure, I would like to have 100 per cent of the members of our unions all affiliated to our labour councils, all affiliated to federations of labour. We are working at it consistently and I think we are doing a pretty good job. But there is a very important principle also in the labour movement. And you might say well we are not forcing anybody to affiliate, but let us look at the practice, let us look at what would happen in reality.

Here is a local union, and we have many of that type in Quebec, representing members all across Quebec. The Service Employees' Union pays on 30,000 members in per capita tax. However, you have five hundred members of the SEIU in that city that are not affiliated to the Labour Council. You have two thousand members in another city, and so on. Consequently, the representation at the Quebec Federation of Labour Convention would be reduced by half. What do you think will happen? They will pay for half of the members. No taxation without representation. This does not only apply to Service Employees, it applies to all of our building trade unions, it applies to CUPE, the locals in Quebec Hydro, it applies to Retail Clerks, it applies to a lot of unions. My friends, I know this will not kill the Metropolitan Labour Council if the recommendation is defeated. It will not kill the Quebec Federation of Labour either. I think we can work at it, I think we can go get the members.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I am going to suggest that I recognize the delegate on mike four, and then, after that, the chair will entertain the question.

MR. L. KOVACSI (CUPE, Local 43): I can only speak from my own experience within my local and within my own organization of CUPE, and volunteerism does not belong in CUPE, no more than it belongs in the Labour Congress or any of its other organizations. I have been a member of the executive of the labour council of Metropolitan Toronto for some seven or eight years. It is a constant battle to try and get locals in. Some come in and some go out. I do not think that this is the same as a yacht club, where you can voluntarily belong. We have, at the present time, the hardest political fight for survival that needs everybody within organized labour. For that, we need not only the per capita, the funds to carry out the fight, but we need the people. Yet, I also find that people who speak against this resolution somehow do not seem to be consistent. In CUPE we do not have voluntary membership. If we had, half my members would not want to pay dues. We say to them: "You will pay dues because we deliver service." In our national per capita, we pay to belong to the Congress, locals do not have a choice and they seem to survive.

Here, judging by the things that CUPE delegates want, we are thriving, but then we go to a double standard and say, well in the other areas such as labour councils we will have another standard, we will do that voluntarily. I do not think that we should have a double standard. I think we should belong to all levels of the labour movement. It will present hardships to some locals. It will be difficult to find the money. It will be difficult to justify the decent and honest decision, and we have to vote in favour of this resolution and the recommendation, but it is necessary. In CUPE, it will be difficult, but we will solve our problems. The labour movement is there to solve problems, not to have an easy time. I do not think anybody on this floor can say that their locals have an easy time. We do not. But we will find a way.

In my local, in the last 20 years, we have been in and out of different labour organizations because it was easy. When we should have had responsibility within the organization, worked to achieve what we wanted, we said: "We are not going to bother." I do not think that was the right way. I am not proud of it, but I would be very proud of passing this resolution and going back to my local and the other locals and say that that is the cost of ensuring your future, because this labour movement is in a fight for its existence.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The chair has a dilemma. I am going to permit one more speaker from the Committee. All right, you just re-elected me, believe me I am earning my bread this morning. So, very briefly, Brother Samson.

MR. P. SAMSON (Constitution and Laws Committee Member, PSAC President): Thank you. We are here assembled at a Convention trying to arrive at responsible decisions. The Alliance has always had in principle supported the labour councils; the federations. I have been president of the Alliance for two years. Two years ago, the percentage of affiliation was 46 per cent. We carried out our duties and have assumed our responsibilities, and I can tell you that today the percentage of affiliation has reached 77 per cent. This is reasonable and acceptable. We participate in discussions and action at all levels.

The attitude of the Alliance is not negative. The Alliance is flexible and this attitude is sensible. This is an acceptable and intelligent attitude, for it is based on the principle of freedom of choice and on being responsible for one's commitments. The position of my union stems from decisions reached at our 1979 and 1982 conventions and from a decision of our National Executive Council. I must take these decisions into consideration and assume my responsibilities. I am telling you the facts; they are not popular, I know. In the case of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, the financial question does not enter into consideration. I am firmly convinced that one day all Alliance locals will become affiliates of all the labour councils and labour federations of Canada, but this will come about only through persuasion, not through obligation. This is my position and I will back it.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are in the position where we came in by mandate from last evening with the Committee instructed to bring in a motion of concurrence, so I cannot end the debate on a position of opposition; so I am going to recognize the brother on mike number two.

MR. C. PILKEY (President, Ontario Federation of Labour, Committee Member): The CLC Constitution now provides for affiliation. The Constitution now says you shall be a member of the federation and the labour councils. But the Constitution is being violated by many organizations. What we are saying here today is: Live up to the Constitution, get into the federation of labour, get into the labour councils. We adopted an action plan to promote jobs and justice. We adopted a policy of full employment, shorter work time, affirmative action, opposition to concessions, social justice, organizing the unorganized, community and political action. Where do you think we are going to carry out those programs? Down at the community level and across the provinces of this country.

You know the pioneers that built this organization, they went out in a spirit of determination of will and courage, not to put another five or ten cents in the pay pocket, those pioneers went out to get recognition, to build a union and to build a structure where they could have self-respect and human dignity and that is what we are all about, but we have to do that together, not as a fragmented divided organization, we have to do it through the affiliates, through the labour councils, the provincial federations of labour and through this great Congress. We have to build self-respect, we have got to treat people as human beings, we have to have unity and solidarity. And how do you build that solidarity? Not by opting out of the trade union movement; you build that solidarity by being part of this great trade union movement of ours.

We talked about building coalitions, getting organizations outside of the trade union movement and pulling them together in a viable force to take on the reactionary elements in this nation. Well we cannot ask other people to form coalitions if we do not have our own house in order. That means belonging to labour councils and the federations. I happen to believe that we can build that new Jerusalem, we can build that greater tomorrow, we can build for the people that we have th privilege to represent. What are we all about? We are about economic security, we are about social justice and more important my friends, we are about human dignity, and we cannot achieve those ends unless we are all together in a movement that moves forward in this country. And I want to say to you finally, endorse this resolution and let us get the labour councils, let us get the federations, let us get the Congress doing the kind of job that is necessary to fulfill the needs of the people that we have the privilege to represent.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate please signify. Down. Opposed?

Debate is closed.

There are compelling arguments on both sides. This is a constitutional change. It requires a two-thirds majority in order to pass. I suspect we may have to count the vote. All those in favour of the Committee's recommendation of concurrence please stand, and remain standing.

It would appear that the first part of the vote has been counted. All right, all those in opposition to the Committee's recommendation please stand. They are tallying; meanwhile I call on Brother Montgomery for some announcements.

MR. D. MONTGOMERY (Secretary-Treasurer): Brother President, fellow delegates, I want to remind you that tonight is the entertainment and dance sponsored by the Montreal Labour Council.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are still doing it. I know it is a cumbersome process, but that is the way we do it. It will take maybe one, two more minutes I hope. Yes! What is it?

MR. W. THOMPSON (Hamilton District Labour Council): Brother Chairman, since we do have an opportunity I would like to make a correction to the resolutions book which is an error in recording the resolution from my Labour Council, and this is on page 124. Resolution number PE-7 has been listed as from our Council. Our Council did submit a resolution that was close to this one but is different. I have informed the Committee that I feel obliged to make sure that the Convention stay on record and fact that it was not identical. The change is in the resolved: "after present program of parliamentary political action, support for the NDP," and then as printed. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The record will so show.

I do not know what the result of the vote will be, that is the reason why we counted, but let me suggest to you whichever way it comes down that there be no acrimony following that. Let me say to the critics of the labour movement who sometimes are very critical of our tactics, and accuse us of lack of democracy and demagoguery and so on; show me another organization in society that is prepared to go through the exercise that we have gone through this morning. Mike number two.

MR. D. McKAY (ITU, Local 145): I would like to ask a question of privilege for those delegates who arrived late this morning, often with legitimate union business to attend to, who had the doors closed on them and did not receive their ballots. Is there a possibility that those people can obtain their ballots and have a right to vote?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Well, we do not know that because they are not numbered and our position is that if you are late you miss the boat because we cannot distinguish between that person and another person who may have had a ballot who comes to use with that story. So I am sorry there is nothing we can do about it. Mike number four.

MR. LEONARD HARRISON (St. Catharines and District Labour Council): Mr. Chairman, I am just wondering whether this afternoon when we get through this you would consider a motion that we have a collection for all the strikes that are going on across here, and that the Congress match the amount of money that is taken up in the collection.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You want to give the new Secretary-Treasurer a heart attack already? I have the figures do you still want the floor? Microphone three.

MS. JUDY DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): I would like to clarify something related to the previous question. Are you saying that those people who were not here first thing this morning are not going to be allowed to vote on the elections that are still to come?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): There is no way of our determining who was here and who was not here. Anyone can stick the ballot in their back pocket and come up here and say I am sorry I did not get a ballot, I was not here until late. So how do you grapple with that one?

MS. JUDY DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): I would like to then speak on a point of personal privilege. I was delayed this morning because of problems of babysitting in the hotel which is a direct result of daycare being cancelled for this Convention. I am sorry, the problem was cleared up, I am grateful to the Congress that babysitting is being paid for, I think there is more than one person in that position, those are legitimate reasons and I think we are going to have to rely on the integrity of the delegates here if we say we were not here for the voting and we still want to take part in the democratic process, we should have that right.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are not going to decide it here; the only thing you can do is to meet with the members of the Balloting Committee, explain your position and they will make the decision as to whether you get a ballot or whether you do not.

The numbers on the motion of concurrence: for the Committee's recommendation 952; against the Committee's recommendation 1,106, obviously not two-thirds majority. The motion of the Committee fails.

Brother Laberge. Election of Officers.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you Mr. President.

Do you want to take the numbers down? Elected were:

No. 1 — Gérard Docquier — 1,889
No. 2 — John Fryer — 1,835
No. 3 — Jim Hunter — 1,878
No. 4 — Jack Munro — 1,465
No. 5 — Huguette Plamondon — 1,791
No. 6 — Jeff Rose — 1,904
No. 7 — Pierre Samson — 1,859
No. 9 — Robert White — 1,890

The other candidate, Joy Thorkelson got 874 votes. There were 1,929 votes cast, with only six spoiled ballots. I want to congratulate you.

I suppose Brother Rose, that you will be starting an investigation somewhere, you only got 1,904 votes out of 1,929.

Do not forget on the next ballot, you will have to be voting for fourteen, no more, no less, and at least for six women. Here are the nominations:

Roxie Baker, mike number three. Do you accept nomination?

MS. ROXIE BAKER (UAW, Local 1325): Brother Chairman I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Would you come up to the front please.

Number two, Val Bourgeois, International Association of Machinists. Val Bourgeois do you accept the nomination?

MR. VAL BOURGEOIS (International Association of Machinists): Yes, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you. Number three, James Buchanan, Paperworkers' Union.

MR. JAMES BUCHANAN (CPU): Yes, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Will you come up in front. Number four, Sam Fox, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

MR. SAM FOX (ACWA, co-director): I accept with pleasure, Mr. Chairman.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you, come on up. Number five, Louisette Hinton, United Food and Commercial Workers' International Union. Do you accept the nomination?

MS. LOUISETTE HINTON (UFCW): Yes, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Would you please come in front.

Number six, Jean Lavallée, QFL, Construction. Jean Lavallée, do you accept the nomination?

MR. JEAN LAVALLÉE (QFL, Construction) I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you.

Number seven. Kathy Maddison, Office and Professional Employees' International Union. Do you accept nomination?

MS. KATHY MADDISON (OPEIU, Local 347): I accept with thanks.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Would you come on up, please. Number eight. Robert McGarry, Letter Carriers' Union. Do you accept?

MR. ROBERT McGARRY (LCUC, President): I accept with thanks.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number nine. Doreen Morton, Public Service Alliance of Canada. Do you accept?

MS. DOREEN MORTON (PSAC, Local 30023): Yes, I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Come on up. Thank you.

Number ten. Lucie Nicholson, Canadian Union of Public Employees. Do you accept?

MS. LUCIE NICHOLSON (CUPE, Local 907): Yes, I do.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number eleven. Jean-Claude Parrot, Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Jean-Claude, do you accept?

MR. JEAN-CLAUDE PARROT (CUPW, President): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number twelve. Dave Patterson, Steelworkers. Do you accept?

MR. DAVE PATTERSON (USWA): I accept with thanks to my nominators.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number thirteen. Fred Pomeroy, Communications, Electronic, Electrical, Technical and Salaried Workers. Do you accept?

MR. FRED POMEROY (CWC, President): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number fourteen. Neil Reimer, Energy and Chemical Workers. Do you accept?

MR. NEIL REIMER (ECWU): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Would you please scratch number fifteen, that was Pierre Samson, and since he has been elected as a General Vice-President, he cannot run for the other office.

Number sixteen, Denis Simard, Canadian Merchant Service Guild.

MR. DENIS SIMARD (CMSG): Small unions should have their day in that organization. I accept, Mr. Laberge.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number seventeen, Frances Soboda, Steelworkers. Do you accept?

FRANCES SOBODA (USWA, Local 4253): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Number eighteen. Diane Wood, National Union of Provincial Government Employees. Do you accept?

MS. D. WOOD (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 1211): I accept.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you, come on up.

Would you repeat after me:

"In accepting nomination, I swear and affirm that I will faithfully support the Constitution, principles and policies of the Canadian Labour Congress."

Thank you and good luck. Do not forget we have to vote for fourteen, and by number. Close the doors.

MR. P. STIER (Secretary-treasurer, Canadian Airline Flight Attendants' Association): I am rising on a point of information. Now that we have dropped the number fifteen because we are still going by numbers, number fifteen just does not exist. Is that correct?

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): That is correct.

You have to vote for fourteen and by number.

No. 1	Roxie Baker
No. 2	Val Bourgeois
No. 3	James Buchanan
No. 4	Sam Fox
No. 5	Louisette Hinton
No. 6	Jean Lavallée
No. 7	Kathy Maddison
No. 8	Robert McGarry
No. 9	Doreen Morton
No. 10	Lucie Nicholson
No. 11	Jean-Claude Parrot
No. 12	Dave Patterson
No. 13	Fred Pomeroy
No. 14	Neil Reimer
No. 16	Denis Simard
No. 17	Frances Soboda
No. 18	Diane Wood

They are suggesting that I do something unusual. There are some people here who were not in when the ballots were distributed. I am sure that every one of them is honest and sincere. However we have never, never, in the past, given ballots to people who were not in when they were distributed. However, there was a delegate that explained that she had good reasons this morning for being late and I am going to ask you whether you want us to give them a ballot and we will mark the ballot late, shameful and so on.

Those who are in favour that we give them a ballot raise your hands? Against if any?

I told you I was not that good in counting, we will count again.

Those in favour of giving them a ballot, raise your hand high so that we may see it. Against.

I am very sorry, no ballots.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): For those of you who did not see what happened here. You know you can only help people to help themselves and we took a vote, fair, instinctive and the minute we said that, the delegation doubled. That is what happened. And you had just voted to give them the ballot. So the people who started to charge up afterwards can accept the responsibility for denying their fellow delegates a ballot.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Has everybody voted? Those with ballots of course. Would the scrutineers pick up the ballots please.

MR. R. RYAN (UAW): My point of privilege is very simple. It is my opinion that the Convention should have been instructed prior to today as to what the situation was going to be if people did not come here on time this morning. I had no problem, as one of those people who came late with not getting the right to vote. Having been through some rough elections, I can understand the Convention taking a position that nobody should be given a ballot. I do not think it should have been voted on but I think the people should have known in advance of today what the conditions were going to be this morning. I do not think there should be any more votes.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Thank you Bob. If you had looked at the agenda of the convention you would have read that the elections were supposed to be held at 9:45. We distributed the ballots at 10:15. Okay vote for fourteen and do not forget, there must be at least six women.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Let me remind the delegates to not destroy their ballot books. You may need them, hang on to them.

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. L. Laberge): Now do not throw away your ballot in case we need a second turn this afternoon.

Open the doors.

The Convention adjourned at 12:30 p.m.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1984
Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order by Chairman President Dennis McDermott at 2:10 p.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are now moving into the report of the Committee on International Affairs and preceding the Committee's report there is a video presentation.

FILM: PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

"We live in a world hovering on the brink of nuclear war. Hundreds of billions of dollars are spent on weapons every year, and yet millions of people don't get enough to eat. Peace has never been in greater danger: the means for waging war and the poverty and insecurity that cause war are both increasing.

"There are already enough nuclear warheads in existence to destroy life on this planet. And yet the arms race continues to escalate and several more countries are striving to join the nuclear club.

"These facts have created an environment where our children are becoming afraid that they will never have the chance to grow up. One study reported that one-third of high school students think that nuclear war is inevitable in their lifetimes.

"Since the end of World War II, there have been more than one hundred and thirty armed conflicts. The cost in terms of human suffering is incalculable, but there is more to peace than just the absence of war. True peace will come only when the causes of insecurity are eliminated. That means respect for national sovereignty, the elimination of poverty and respect for human rights, in every part of the world.

"Sane human beings everywhere have opposed the tragic waste of resources entailed by the weapons buildup. In Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress has been in the forefront of the protest movement. But the Congress' action goes far beyond the slogans and rhetoric that have characterized some of these protests. Previous conventions have condemned both superpowers for their continued escalation of the arms race, and for their specific acts of aggression and suppression of human rights.

"The Congress has also co-ordinated the efforts of provincial federations of labour to submit petitions urging all governments to put a stop to the arms race, and has worked through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to press this position internationally. In the future, we will have to do even more.

"John Harker, the CLC director of International Affairs explains why: 'Well, in the First World War, the war to end wars, a French politician said that war is too important to be left to generals. Clearly, peace is too important to be left to politicians, it has to involve us all, and I think especially trade unionists. We've got to persuade everyone, politicians, housewives, and generals, that everyone has to feel secure, but the struggle for peace is not the erosion of security, and furthermore, security is not just weaponry. To get there, you need policies which disarm people in terms of their mental attitudes, and that means dialogue, not rhetoric.'

"It is clear that Canadian workers can contribute towards the world-wide effort to attain economic security and lasting peace. But we need new, more comprehensive policies to do it. Now, the International Affairs Committee presents its policy paper on *Peace, Security and Disarmament*.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

MR. G. DOQUIER (International Affairs Committee Chairman): We have received 68 resolutions and we have also issued, under the instruction of the Executive Council a document entitled *Peace, Security and Disarmament: A Canadian Labour Response*. We will deal first with a substitute resolution on Central America. This resolution encompasses Resolution IA-1, 10, 28, 31, 34, 39, 51, 53, 62, 67 and 68:

> "WHEREAS economic and political repression throughout much of Central America makes change essential and inevitable; and
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> "WHEREAS the Govennment of Nicaragua must be permitted and encouraged to pursue its stated goals of establishing a pluralist democracy; and
>
> "WHEREAS United States interventionist tactics threaten the gains made by the people of Nicaragua, support repression in El Salvador and Guatemala, erode the fragile democracy in Honduras and directly increase the possibility of a regional civil war;
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> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress reiterate its support for change in Central America and for the right to self-determination of sovereign states by continuing to demand full human and trade union rights for all Central American peoples; by advocating negotiated settlements of regional conflicts and by endorsing the initiative of the Contadora Group; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC call upon the Canadian government to oppose U.S.A. policies in Central America; to withhold bilateral aid from any country serving as a base for military intervention; and to actively support the Contadora initiatives for a negotiated settlement in Central America; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC condemn U.S.A. and other military intervention in Central America and continue to support Central American workers and their bona fide organizations in their heroic struggle for bread, peace and freedom."

I move concurrence in this resolution, seconded by Terry Meagher, Committee Secretary.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): And before we get on the debate of the resolution, I just want to take a moment of the Committee's time to read a telegram which is being sent to the Napoleon Duarte who was sworn in, today I believe, as President of El Salvador.

"Mr. President, you have publicly claimed that justice and peace are possible in your tortured country. This will require strong deeds, not fine words, and you can be sure that this Congress will not only watch your performance, but will continue to convey its heartfelt concerns. We remain vitally concerned about the fate of the imprisoned STECEL trade unionists in El Salvador; and if you want to create a climate for peace and justice you will have them released now and you will honour their human rights in the future. The persecution of ordinary people in your country must stop." Signed Dennis McDermott, President, CLC.

MS. K. SCHULTZ (UFAWU, Local 2): I am not very happy about having to stand on a con mike on this resolution on Central America, but the fact is that this resolution takes in eleven other resolutions and some of the very important points are missing. One of the points that I feel should be in this resolution is that the CLC should give support to all the trade unions in Nicaragua. We have passed a resolution in the B.C. Federation of Labour, calling on the CLC to consider that.

I have been to Nicaragua twice. The first time I was there I was able to visit both coasts and visit all the fish plants in Nicaragua so I met with many workers who work in the fishing industry just like myself. And I was amazed at what I saw, because those people had day care. Those workers had health care. Those workers had control over the fishing industry and they had a future and I do not have that in my country. I do not have a future as a fish plant worker, so I was really impressed. This year, I went to pick cotton in Nicaragua and I met with farm workers who belong to a union called the ATC and they have a real voice in what is going on in their lives for the first time. These union workers that I met with are not supported by the CLC and they want our support. We should not be afraid to give our support to the Sandinistas. They have made incredible gains since 1979.

I happened to be there when Danny Ortega announced the first free election in a hundred years. He announced this election to 200,000 people in a square, and I witnessed this. He said: "Yes, the United States is trying to impose on us. We do not want a democracy where only one-third of the population votes for their President. We do not want a democracy where minorities are still discriminated against, and we do not want a democracy where there are cut-backs in social services, where the citizens' money is being used to kill Nicaraguans." This is not the kind of democracy that they want.

When I came back to British Columbia this year I realized I had been in a country where I really saw poverty. If you have not been to a Third World country, you do not know what it is like. Those people are poor and yet I come back to the beautiful province of British Columbia, full of wealth, and what is happening to us? We are losing our social services, we are losing our Labour Code, we are going to find it very hard in the future to survive as a labour movement in British Columbia. Yet I just left a poor country, where people are getting health care, day care, and those workers are getting rights. Everywhere we went, the Nicaraguan workers, the Nicaraguan people told us: "We do not think that the people in Canada understand what is really going on here. Please, you must tell them the truth." Those people are just like us. All they want is a better life for their children, just like we want, and I think that we should consider that it is important for them that we support them. Right now it is so serious. The Nicaraguans are facing an all-out invasion and people are being slaughtered there at the borders right now, and we cannot just stand by and watch this happen.

MR. J. DONALDSON (Iron Workers, Local 721): Over the last two years, about 200 trade unionists have visited Nicaragua, and all of them have come back inspired by the courage and the commitment of the Nicaraguan people. We knew, when we came back, we would have some difficulty in relating to the brothers and sisters just what we had seen in Nicaragua, because we had seen a commitment to the revolution. It was unbelievable.

As a young man, 24 years ago, I visited that part of the world as a seaman, and what I saw at that time was disease, abject poverty and degradation. I went back 24 years later and, in comparison, I would say, that country is Utopia — not a Utopia in economic terms, certainly not, but a Utopia in human terms. Throughout our two-week trip, we never had the Nicaraguans saying "I" or "me". It was always "we". They are working together to defend their country and to defend the revolution.

We travelled across the country and met with all segments of society: executive boards of unions and factories and plants; we met with workers in the farms; we met with the Human Rights Commission, with government officials of different parties. We met them in the streets and in the markets. We met with the youth movement, the women's movement, the mothers of the heroes and martyrs, and let me just tell you about mothers of heroes and martyrs. It is unfortunate that they have to have an organization by that name. It is also unfortunate that this is a mass movement, because over 50,000 Nicaraguans were killed during the revolution, and since. We have the stories from those mothers whose sons and daughters have been killed. We had them tell of the torture they went through during Somoza's time, his troops had taken the children and tortured them and brought them back to that same neighbourhood in front of their mother's eyes and shot them.

We spent some time with the Sandinista youth movement. These are young men and women, now 18 and 19 years of age, who were combatants in that revolution, and fought tanks with sticks and stones. They did not have a childhood, but they tell us that they are determined that their children will have a childhood. And the mothers of the heroes and martyrs say their sons and daughters are not dead, they live on in the revolution and when the time comes they will pick up the rifles to defend that revolution.

Every time we were leaving a union meeting after speaking to those people in Nicaragua, we were told they need our material aid. But more than material aid, their priority is our solidarity with them. I take this opportunity here today to tell you that and ask you for solidarity for those people.

Although I am standing at a pro mike I feel I must ask the International Affairs Committee why they did not address themselves to the New Brunswick Federation of Labour Resolution 117 and to IA-1 where there were about 30 resolutions combined, and why they were not more specific. I would like to say that they should provide support and assistance to all trade unions in Nicaragua, to open up dialogue with the CST, get involved with the solidarity groups around this country. I think really that we should forget about the international affiliation question. Nicaraguans are not just fighting for bread and butter problems, they are fighting for their very survival.

MR. B. WEISLEDER (NUPGE-OPSEU, Local 595): It is with considerable regret that I have to rise in opposition to this resolution because I am saddened by the fact that it is, in view of the dire situation today in Central America, and in Nicaragua in particular, grossly inadequate. What we need from this Canadian Labour Congress is a clear commitment not only against U.S.-backed mercenaries and U.S. puppet dictatorships in Central America, not only against military intervention in Nicaragua, not only for self-determination in the abstract, what we need from this labour movement is a clear commitment to support the heroic achievements of the Nicaraguan working people, and their revolutionary government and their mass organizations. What we need is a commitment to provide them with material aid so they can continue the task that they have undertaken. The resolution that is before us does not summarize or represent the thinking in the many resolutions that have been submitted by organizations of this Congress to this Convention. I point to Resolution IA-28 submitted by my union and there are many other fine resolutions but they are not represented in the thinking of the resolution that we are discussing at this point.

The Sandinista government, in five short years, has demonstrated an impressive dedication to the interests of the dispossessed in Nicaragua. It has undertaken a massive redistribution of land to the peasants, it has established free health care and medicare, it has fought ignorance and discrimination through a national literacy crusade that won a United Nations' prize. It has remobilized the crippled economy, providing employment through re-investment in production, in housing, in education. It has in fact acted to meet the basic food needs of children and families and imposed price controls to fight speculation. The Sandinista government is precisely the kind of government that we need here in Canada. It deserves our unconditional support in its struggle for survival.

FSOA undertook leadership and launched the reconstruction of an impoverished and decimated nation under the most adverse conditions imaginable. It inherited the destruction and destitution left by the Somoza dynasty. It was confronted by floods which left over 100,000 homeless two years ago. It was confronted by sabotage of factories by pro-Somoza Nicaraguan businessmen, and a campaign of economic quarantine by the U.S. Government and U.S. corporations. It now faces, in fact, military invasion by cut-throat mercenaries armed to the teeth by Washington and the CIA and it is compelled to devote 25 per cent of the national budget to repel this invasion. Daily, there are illegal reconnaissance flights across the country, terror bombings and explosions at plants, power stations and bridges and the latest disgrace that I think we are all aware of, the latest disgrace condemned by the world court at the mining of Nicaraguan harbours which have taken the lives of many fishermen and have kept the important medical and technical supplies out of a country sorely in need.

In face of these obstacles and in face of the unremitting hostility by Washington and its imperialist rulers, Nicaragua needs our support. It needs full support, it needs energetic support and it needs accurate support. Nicaragua does not need half-hearted gestures. It does not need pious words about self-determination and pluralism. It does not need dubious and carping remarks about press censorship and limits on political and trade union rights from leaders of the CLC. Remarks that serve as grist for Washington's mill of repression and intervention. And I want to tell you that as a member of OPSEU, a component of NUPGE, I personally take exception to the use of the May-June issue of *NUPGE News* as a platform for scurrilous attacks on the Nicaraguan revolution.

In conclusion, the Sandinista government is building the most democratic and pro-worker society in the Americas. There has been an expansion of religious freedom and human rights and there are democratic elections planned for November 4 this year. It is high time this Congress recognized and established relations with all the unions in Nicaragua; and this must include the Sandinistas Trade Union Central which represents over 85 per cent of the working people of the country. It would be as if, in fact, the brother from Great Britain the TUC came to address, instead of this Labour Congress, the convention of the Canadian Federation of Labour.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right, you are through. Now I am being very tolerant.

MR. B. WEISLEDER (NUPGE-OPSEU, Local 595): In the absence of the provisions I am compelled to oppose the resolution and I hope the referral is moved to correct the imbalance.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I would advise that you read the resolution that you are acting on. This is not a resolution on Nicaragua. This is a resolution on Central America. This is not a debate between who is the best between the WFTU and the ICFTU. It talks about aid to Central America. Never mind the in-house squabble about the comparison about the CF of L with the ICFTU and the CLC with the WFTU.

MR. T. COOK (CUPE, Local 2440): I would like to support the resolution for the very good content that it has, in very clearly saying that we oppose United States policies in Central America and withholding bilateral aid from the country which I assume is being referred to as Honduras, that is being used as a base for military intervention; and for making such a statement on behalf of workers in Canada in support of the workers of Central America. I too share some of the concerns of other speakers at mikes so far today. I do not think it was wise to lump issues of Central America in general and Nicaragua and El Salvador together in the same resolution.

I think this resolution could be much stronger and clearer in its direction in the kinds of support it is asking us to give the workers of Central America. I work for an organization that is involved in international development. My local has members all across Canada who work day-to-day to assist in the education of Canadians in international affairs. My local has members all across the world who work directly with people of developing countries to assist them in achieving some of the rights that we already have and sometimes forget about.

One thing I would like to say is I think we sometimes forget the context in which our brothers and sisters around the world have to struggle to achieve their rights. Many of them have to fight against years, decades, even centuries of oppression, be it the colonialism of Africa, or the brutal military repression of Latin America. They must fight against their own local élites, be it church workers who are alienated from their own members, be it government leaders, be it their own militaries who oppress them. They must fight against the powerful multi-national corporations, some of whom have far more wealth and assets than even the country in which these people live, and they must fight against the United States' self-determined "right" to choose when and where people can make their own decisions.

So it is really remarkable and it is a great achievement when these people do succeed in overthrowing this kind of oppression. But the struggle does not end there; then the struggle becomes one of survival where they have to fight against economic isolation, withdrawal of aid and assistance, where they have to fight against military threat and intimidation, where they have to fight against outright military invasion, and we only have to think a few short months ago in the case of Grenada. Their struggle is extremely difficult against massive odds, and it is even more difficult when they must fight that struggle in isolation and alone. They need our support, they need our support very badly and I congratulate all of the members of this Congress and other trade unions across Canada who have been involved in making those kinds of links with our fellow workers overseas. I also must take issue with some union leaders, who take whatever opportunity they can to criticize, out of context and often without much background, awareness and knowledge. Nicaragua is a case in point. Ronald Reagan has ample opportunity to state his case. Napoleon Duarte has ample opportunity to state his case. The last thing that the people and workers of Nicaragua need is to have Canadian trade union leaders repeating the same statements.

We have learned, in over 20 years of working in international development, in my local, one very important point and that is that we cannot determine for the people of Central America, for the people of Nicaragua or anywhere else in the world, what kinds of government they should have, how they should set up their democracy, what kind of trade unions, they should have. It is not our right to determine that. If we pretend that it is, we are no better than the United States. What is clear is that the people of Nicaragua have determined that the Sandinista government is their choice for a government; 50,000 people died to say that. Our role is to provide all the support we possibly can to assist those people in surviving and moving on to build the kind of society which they desire.

MR. W. MUNDLE (CUPW, Moncton Local): I also oppose the resolution and it is almost for exactly the reason that you have when you intervened a minute or two ago, and that was you said it is not dealing with Nicaragua. And the unfortunate thing is that it should be dealing with Nicaragua because if you look at Document No. 10, it refers to Resolutions IA-1, IA-28, IA-53 that specifically talk about Nicaragua and more action with respect to our dealing with those trade union centrals in Nicaragua. It is because of that lack of action, that reluctance on behalf of the CLC to start recognizing other unions, I have to rise in opposition. I certainly do not oppose the part of the resolution that deals with American intervention. Obviously we have to be against that, but there are some very serious shortcomings in what the Committee is bringing forward here, and what it tells me is that we are going to continue what has gone on over the last little while.The last "be it resolved" says: "to continue to support Central American workers and their bona fide organizations." If that means that we are going to have to continue what we have done in the past, then it is obviously not enough. We have not done enough in the past for unions in Central America and specifically in Nicaragua.

Other speakers want to deal with El Salvador, which is a very serious situation, and I hope the delegates will not call for the question before we hear the points of view of these people. There are a lot of hardships that have taken place in Nicaragua, not only the revolution, the land destroyed in floods, in earthquakes; and then they had a revolution where 50,000 people died, from a population of about two and a half million. Well, if you equate that to Canada we are talking 500,000 people who died and that is a lot of people. Now we have a government that is working to reconstruct the country.

I have been to Nicaragua twice myself and I have seen the same type of determination of people never to return to a dictatorship like Somoza, never to go back to that type of a lifetstyle. They want to develop their own type of democratic society, and not necessarily an American society. They are bringing about very positive changes. Why do we have the American aggression that we are seeing? One good reason is that the American government will not tolerate the type of freedom that the people of Nicaragua have, the type of dignity that the workers in Nicaragua have. They do not want that type of thing to spread to the rest of Central America, where workers like those in El Salvador are now starting to rise up and say: "We want some of that too for ourselves". They do not want that to happen in the rest of Central America, so they are going to do their utmost to destroy that country, to destroy the revolution and the gains that they are making.

We have to look at what the CLC has been doing. Initially after the revolution, there is no doubt the CLC put some money in there, but we have not done anything significant since that time. The amount of support that has come forth, has come from basic workers, solidarity groups across Canada. Even the government now is doing more in Nicaragua, they are leading the way, ahead of the CLC, and the NDP have also moved to try to embarrass the government into establishing an embassy. But here we are rejecting those same resolutions. We are saying they are combined here, and I hope that it is referred back. We, the first day here, demanded action in the resolutions for our own country, and we want actions that are going to show some support for the workers in other countries around the world like the workers in Nicaragua.

The international affairs policy up to now has been wrong, I do not know if this is because of the money we get from CIDA and the government control over that, and they are telling us where to go, and where not to go. But I would like to ask one question and that simply is to have the Chairman of the Committee explain what we mean by *bona fide* organizations and that might help to eliminate a lot of the opposition. When they say bona fide organizations, are we talking about the CST in Nicaragua and that we are going to work with them in the future and with other trade union centrals? If it is not so, we better refer this back and get the meat in the resolutions.

MR. G. DOCQUIER (International Affairs Committee Chairman): I want to inform the delegation that President McDermott has told the CST that we would send a delegation to Nicaragua next summer. I think that answers the question of our brother. We are dealing in Nicaragua with the people there and we are involved not only in sending a delegation. Help to people that are in need is not sending a delegation, it is much more than that. Many people may be critical about what has been done through the Congress, to see the money treated like CIA money, and it makes me feel sick when people tell me that. What we are able to do is develop projects that are helping people do what they want to do. This is what the Congress is all about and involved in, and we are talking with the campesinos in Nicaragua, we have offered them help for projects they want to do, not our projects, their own projects.

MR. O. NUMEZ (UE, Local 556): As just mentioned, this resolution is about Central America. As delegates, we want a separate resolution on Nicaragua and El Salvador, not just a single resolution meant to convey a lot of things but which, in the end, hardly says anything. Many resolutions on Nicaragua and El Salvador were forwarded by unions, including my own. I find that this resolution is a reflection of the CLC policy and more particularly of its International Affairs Department. The policy is ambiguous and quite often contradictory. How could it be otherwise when, for example, the CLC supports ORIT, the regional Inter-American Labour Organization which, in the past, backed previous dictatorial regimes in Latin America.

In 1981, a conference on El Salvador was held in Montreal; the CLC was invited but decided not to attend because, among the organizations expected at this conference, some were not affiliated to the ICFTU and some were affiliates of the WFTU. To me, there is ambiguity when a policy makes distinctions, lays down conditions, tries to divide Latin American workers by stating that some organizations are legitimate and bona fide and that, according to you, organizations affiliated to the ICFTU should be the legitimate ones. I find this resolution very weak, although I cannot do otherwise than support it; this is why I am at this mike. I concur in principle but I find it very weak in the face of the drama and tragic situation in Central America. We expected stronger support from the CLC and in particular from this Convention. Last year, I visited Mexico. The Mexicans have more solidarity than Canadian workers, yet they dispose of scantier means. I was a participant at one of their labour conventions where they decided to contribute one day of salary in support of the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran workers' cause. A change, a thorough reorganizing of the structure of the CLC International Affairs Department is necessary, if we want to see the end of conservative policies, if we want a department that supports more firmly Latin America workers and in particular those in Central America.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I am going to give the floor to one member of the Committee, but I just want to say this. On Nicaragua the CLC makes no apologies to anyone. I happened to be down in Caracas, Venezuela, when Somoza went down the drain. We were the first trade union anywhere inside of Nicaragua within days. Within one week, after returning from there, we raised over one million dollars in material aid and assistance, hired a flight of airplanes to take it in there — medical supplies, baby food, tents, stoves and all of the lists of the things that they said they so desperately needed, and we did that before anybody else got around to even thinking about it. And the initials may appear to be similar between the CIA that are mining the harbours down there and CIDA which we get money from, and there is no comparison between the two despite the similarity in the initials, and I defy anyone out there to produce evidence that CIDA, our development agency, is in any way connected with the CIA or acts like the CIA. We know differently. And do not believe the rhetoric that says we make a distinction because our money is tied to CIDA and therefore someone in the government is telling us what to do. The day that happens then CIDA or anybody else can go to hell and we will do it independently, and there is no suggestion that that is happening. Brother Meagher and then we will get to the question.

MR. T. MEAGHER (International Affairs Committee Secretary): I had the privilege, I will not say the pleasure, of visiting El Salvador about ten days ago with a trade union delegation consisting of Don Taylor from the Steelworkers, D. Sexton of the United Food and Commercial Workers and Don Lee. The fact of the matter is that there is far more division in this Convention than there is among the trade union representatives and the workers in Central America. Please do not take advantage of this opportunity to sow divisions in their names. That is not what they stand for. Time after time, after time, in speaking to those trade union representatives, we tried to ask them if there were divisions. There was a tremendous respect for each other and it is not for us to say what they should think. They are asking in this revolution for the right to self-determination. I ask no more for myself. I seek no more for them.

It is not for us to tell them what that determination should be, but to use every influence that is at our disposal to make absolutely positive that they have an opportunity to determine for themselves what is going to happen, free from outside forces, free from American involvement, free from armed shipments. If we say that we stand for democracy, I want to tell you they do in spades. We talk as trade unionists about more vacation or that we want more money. Those people are at this present time fighting for their very existence. They cannot hold a union meeting. They have to meet clandestinely and the fact of the matter is that when you see the kind of courage that they display, realizing they cannot stay in their homes every night, that they must keep moving because the death squads are after them, please let us not do them the disservice of saying that it has to be this way or that way. We met with the mothers of the disappeared, saw the human rights side of pursuit. Many lives are on the line daily, we talked with trade unionists in exile in Mexico who have been subjected to indescribable torture. It is up to us as an organization that says we believe in the decency of democracy, to make absolutely certain that they have an opportunity to practice their best wishes.

Prior to going to Central America, from the Canadian Labour Congress and other bodies, I often had received telegrams, had received letters asking us to convey to the governments of these different countries that someone should be free, that they should stop the suppression, and quite frankly I did not put much stock in it. I met with a man in Mexico who is alive today because we sent the letters, the telegrams. It is up to us to continue that work. There is a tremendous respect for the Canadian labour movement. We should not take anything from that.

President McDermott has described the kind of aid that we want to give. There are no strings attached. It is what you want to do. I sincerely hope that every trade unionist in this assembly who is afforded an opportunity to go to Central America will take advantage of that to bring messages of encouragement and to bring back to this country what it is that they see down there. I think those of us who have had the privilege of visiting Central America come back somewhat emotionally charged and we would not be human if we were not; but let us not divide ourselves in their name. They want a united trade union movement in Canada that works on their behalf, that presses upon the conscience of the world to see that they get a fair share, and I think that we have that obligation in spades to see that that is done. Do not pick petty quarrels between yourselves but get behind the Canadian Labour Congress to make our influence felt in Central America, so that those people too can have an opportunity at democracy.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate please signify. Down. Opposed? Debate is closed.

On the main motion, one of concurrence, all those in favour of the recommendation of the Committee please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. G. DOCQUIER (International Affairs Committee Chairman): The delegates have received Emergency Resolution No. 3. It deals with the situation in Guatemala where the Coca-Cola Bottling Workers' Union had signed an agreement after a very difficult battle in 1979-80, where the CLC played a major role to bring about the recognition of the union and the signing of the collective agreement. The situation is repeating itself and again the CLC made some representations in co-operation with the International Trade Secretariat of the Food Workers.

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT, Local 67): It is a point of information. I do not want to take away from the importance of these other resolutions under this heading, but in your opening address you said that probably the most important item we have on the agenda at this Convention is the struggle for peace and we are running out of time. I just want some assurances that the major policy paper on peace, and the direction of labour on this question, come up.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We have no intention of leaving the Convention without addressing the basic fundamental matter of peace.

MS. K. NAYLOR: Thank You.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Chairman of the Committee.

MR. GERARD DOCQUIER (International Affairs Committee Chairman): We are submitting this emergency resolution which reads:

> "WHEREAS during 1979/1980, eight members of the executive of the Coca-Cola Bottling Workers' Union in Guatemala were murdered during a dispute for union recognition; and
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> "WHEREAS the dispute was finally settled in 1980 after the IUF, the Canadian Labour Congress and other trade union organizations declared a boycott against Coca-Cola; and
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> "WHEREAS in February 1984 Coca-Cola undertook a phony bankruptcy action in their Guatemalan plant causing the workers to occupy the plant in protest; and
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> "WHEREAS external trade union pressure has been instrumental in reaching a tentative agreement between Coke and the workers;
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> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC advise Coke of its continued concern for the physical security of these workers and that it will reconsider declaring a consumer boycott unless the May 1984 agreement is fully honoured by Coca-Cola."

I move the adoption of that emergency resolution, seconded by Terry Meagher.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Now, this is probably a very good example of what Terry Meagher was talking about. Because the workers in Guatemala City had occupied the plant, we sent a delegation down there, and when we go down we do not preach to them, we fill our pockets with money and other things. Those people were under siege; and I asked a question of our delegation when they came back: "How can they possibly get away with it in a place like Guatemala? A military junta dictatorship?" The answer is: world opinion, world pressure, world support, sensitivity of the economic backlash that may come from that. That is the only thing that is saving those courageous workers in the Coca-Cola plant in Guatemala City from the hit squads of either Coca-Cola and/or the government. Because of the pressure that the IUF was able to generate throughout Europe, Scandinavia, all over, the company has now agreed to sign a collective agreement, reinstate the workers, and get on with the business of collective bargaining. That is what this is all about.

So what we are saying in this resolution is, Okay you said you were going to do it, but if you doublecross us, then all of those things that we said we were going to do last week will be instituted and the boycott and everything else will be on, not only in this country but all around the world.

MR. D. SEXTON (UFCW, Local 633): In company with two of the CLC staff members, I was privileged to be part of that delegation to Guatemala just over two weeks ago. I visited that plant and stayed in that plant overnight with the workers. Unfortunately the visit was too short. I do not think in all my years in the trade union movement that I have had a more moving time or experienced the emotions that I did with those people in the plant. The determination, the dedication and the solidarity of those people was something I just wish we had up here. Those people were determined to win. Afraid? Yes, they were afraid. I was afraid when I was there. They have to live there. They asked our delegation to come to this Convention, to convey to you their fraternal greetings and their appreciation of your support. Because they know that, without the international support, they are lost. The reason the military have not moved in on that plant is because of the high profile that this dispute has taken. The workers lost eight members of their executive four years ago. They were not trying to get money or benefits, they were trying to get recognition for their union.

This current dispute, that has just ended, was also not a dispute for a contract. It was again to hold on to their union. On the day that they were told the plant was closing, the executive were brought in to a meeting, told the plant was closing and, under Guatemalan law, certain monies had been set aside as severance pay. Each of the executive were offered $60,000 U.S. if they would convince the workers in the plant to accept the severance pay and kiss their union goodbye. Sixty thousand dollars in Guatemala is a lot of money. They told the company what to do with their $60,000. They wanted their union.

Unfortunately, they did lose some people, I guess it was economic pressure, but there were still over four hundred people in that plant. The military did not move in, but those people still lived in fear and it was only through international solidarity, with letters and telegrams from all over the world, from the U.K., Canada, U.S., Australia, Thailand; everywhere they were getting support. They got letters that one of our delegation translated for them, when they could not read them. Those people do not ask much. All they want to do is to be allowed to work, to be allowed to work together and to have their union. Our delegation was preceded by one from the U.S. which took down money, a lot of money, but even still, with all of the money that they got it would only last another ten days, because their families have to be supported. They were supporting the widows of the martyred.

I was never so happy as when I reached this Convention and I learned that a settlement had been reached. Some of the details of the settlement are still confidential but the workers are now being paid to occupy the plant. They have set up a fund now for the widows of the murdered and their families. The rate of pay in their contract was only $17 a day. I want to thank the CLC. I also want to thank the many unions that contributed toward this trip and the El Salvador trip, my own union particularly, national and provincial. On behalf of those Coca-Cola workers in Guatemala I want to say, thanks to all of you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Let me recognize the speaker on one and then we will get to the question.

MR. R. HILL (Vice-President, Canadian Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers, Local 381): I rise in opposition to this resolution because I do not think there is a need for a boycott now or even talk about a boycott, I think what had to be done has been done.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We are not proposing a boycott.

MR. R. HILL (BFCSD, Local 381): Well you are certainly saying that you will consider it.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): If they doublecross us, yes.

MR. R. HILL (BFCSD, Local 381): Another thing that probably bothers me is that our union represents the majority of soft drink workers in this country and when you decided to send a delegation to Guatemala, we were not even informed until after that delegation had gone. I do not think that was right. I listened to Brother Meagher when he said that we had to stay out of their internal things and we had to supply whatever was needed. Well if our people are not going to work, then we are not going to be able to supply those monies or whatever is needed for the families. So I don't believe that there is any need for this resolution to even reconsider a boycott. I do not know whether you have even informed the Convention, but there is not only Coca-Cola involved here, there is Dr. Pepper, which, at one time owned the most non-unionized bottling company in Canada, which is Canada Dry. None of their plants is organized, so I do not think it should have been just against Coca-Cola. I think you would be better to talk about everyone else.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion of concurrence on the resolution. All those in favour please signify. Opposed? The resolution is carried.

MR. T. MEAGHER (International Affairs Committee Secretary): Brother Chairman, the substitute resolution on Grenada covers IA-3, 29 and 43:

> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress strongly condemned the brutal murders of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, trade union leaders Vincent Noel and Fitzroy Baines, and other Grenadians in the coup which overthrew the Bishop regime; and
>
> "WHEREAS the CLC, followed by the Caribbean Congress of Labour, the Commonwealth Trade Union Council and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, condemned the invasion of Grenada by forces from the interventionist United States and some Caribbean states;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Convention endorse the condemnation by the CLC and call on the CLC to keep up its efforts to secure the withdrawal of all the occupation forces and the return to Grenada of democratic, civilian, government; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that, in pursuit of this goal, the CLC make the provision of educational assistance to the trade union movement of Grenada a priority objective."

MR. P. COURNOYER (CUPE, Local 2073): I want to congratulate the Ontario Federation of Labour and other labour federations across the country who, at the time of the American invasion of Grenada, responded to that invasion with resolutions such as this, and helped solidarity groups across the country mobilize a strong show of opposition within this country to the American invasion which resulted in the destruction of the revolution in Grenada. The revolution had scored many gains and many advances for the people of that country.

I am a trustee of the Maurice Bishop and Martyrs of October 19 Foundation. This Foundation has been established by Grenadian exiles in Canada and some of their supporters to help the families of those people who were massacred on October 19, or who died in the American bombing during the invasion.

The Foundation is also attempting to keep alive, through educational work, the memory of many of the gains of the revolution; as well it is helping to aid in the rebuilding of a progressive movement in Grenada. There has been a massive repression in that country since the American occupation. One of the most difficult aspects of this repression is that trade union leaders are not being allowed to travel in and out of the country in order to make contact with their brothers and sisters on the other eastern Caribbean islands or throughout the Caribbean and further abroad. In particular, our Foundation, which is international, not only in the Caribbean, but in Europe and North America, has attempted on two occasions to invite George Louison who had been a member of the Bishop government, to travel to North America and to Europe, and on two occasions the Scoon government in Grenada, which is the puppet government imposed by the United States, has refused this leader the right to travel abroad; and many other people have been affected by this kind of repression. Worse than that, the arrested leaders of the military coup, that is the Courd faction people who are in prison and who are charged with murder, some of them have been tortured by the police forces that are holding them in St. George's. Now I do not think any sensibly minded workers anywhere in the world would object that these people who organized the massacre of Maurice Bishop and the leaders of the New Jewel movement should not face justice. But it is an absolute outrage that, under the American occupation, people are being subjected to torture in order to achieve their goals; and their goals are not to bring justice to the people who murdered Bishop and others. Their goals are to slander the whole history of the revolution and to try to drown the memory of the achievements of the people of Grenada during the period of their revolution.

It is very positive that there is a point in the resolution that funds will be made available for educational work around the issue of Grenada. I would hope that the International Affairs Committee will give some thought to aiding the Maurice Bishop Foundation, and also the Foundation that has been set up specifically for the trade union martyrs in Grenada including Vincent Noel, the Minister of Labour under Bishop.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the main motion, all those in favour of the Committee recommendation please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. B. HARGROVE (International Affairs Committee Member): Resolutions IA-8, 33, 50 and 55 are composited in the substitute resolution on Poland:

> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress saluted the emergence of a free and immensely popular trade union movement in Poland and welcomes the official Solidarnosc representative as a guest at this Convention; and
>
> "WHEREAS the Polish authorities, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, brutally attacked Solidarnosc, imposed Martial Law on the people of Poland, and banned independent trade unionism in Poland;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC reaffirm its full support for Solidarnosc and their goal of free trade unionism for workers everywhere; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC continue to demand the release of trade unionists detained in Poland, even after the lifting of Martial Law; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that any foreign assistance for Poland be designed to assist the people of Poland, not to enhance the power of the Polish State to repress its workers."

On behalf of the committee I move adoption. Seconded by G. Docquier.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): If I may have the attention of the convention for just a moment. I have a message here that comes from inside Poland. It says:

> "Mr. President, brother and sister unionists, dear Canadian friends, I send all my warmest wishes to all at the Fifteenth Convention. May your meeting be successful and may it benefit all those whom you democratically represent and those with whom you are united in this struggle for a better life for working people. For obvious reasons I am unable to stand before you and personally thank you for the unfaltering help for which unionists in Poland and abroad are indebted to the Canadian Labour Congress.
>
> "Your solidarity with our struggle for labour and civil rights is greeted in Poland with gratitude and friendship. I assure you that we will not give up our peaceful struggle for the ideals that inspired Solidarnosc. Those ideals are alive in the hearts of millions of my fellow Poles. We will not allow them to be destroyed.
>
> "The good will and understanding of unionists throughout the world for our cause have immeasurable value for us. Hope for a better future for all nations spring from a solidarity among working people that transcends all national borders and differences in union policies.
>
> "I thank you for your solidarity and your material and personal help."
>
> (signed) Lech Walesa
> Gdansk, May 16th.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of the resolution please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MESSAGE FROM THE LATIN AMERICAN FRATERNAL DELEGATE

Luis Anderson, ICFTU-ORIT

(Tabled, not delivered at the CLC Convention)

"First of all, let me state that it is indeed a great pleasure and a great honour to be here today. I also consider it a significant privilege, to be a part of an international trade union organization, the ORIT, that counts, as one of its most distinguished members, this great union of yours.

"For many years, at the International Labour Organization and other events of the international labour scene, I have seen and participated with representatives of the CLC, fighting against injustice and worker exploitation. Because of their efforts and their contribution, the Canadian worker is known worldwide as one that stands up for democracy, freedom, and for social justice. Brother McDermott said yesterday that you cannot solve the problems of all the workers of the different trouble spots of the world. I say to you, that because of your significant help, your involvement and your demonstrated interest in the betterment of workers all around the world, and especially in developing countries and oppressed societies, it seems, at least to those on the receiving end, that you do more than most, without much propaganda and what's more important, with no strings attached.

"I do want to share some thoughts with you about Latin America.

"The theme of this Convention speaks loudly and clearly of your concern about unemployment and the economic situation. I perceive that this concern goes beyond the mere availability of jobs and addresses the issue of job quality, meaning conditions and employment and salaries. This enables you to properly understand the problem of Central America. I'm sure you realize that the workers of these countries suffered a crisis for more than a century. To pretend that the problems in Central America arise from the East-West confrontation is an absurdity that offends our intelligence. Sure, there are external circumstances that come in to play, such as the foreign domination, the economic dependency, the political and military influence of foreign powers, the structures of exploitation set up by multinational corporations.

"But the core of the matter is the total failure of the present social, economic, and political system, that does not provide the minimal conditions of subsistence for the vast majority of the Central American population.

"The more than 25 per cent open unemployment, the rate of illiteracy, that in Salvador and Guatemala exceeds 80 per cent in rural areas, the disappearance and murder of more than 40,000 trade union and political leaders between 1968 and 1983; and the total absence of popular participation in the political processes of these countries are the real cause of the problems.

"There is no army in the world that can cure these ills or make the people forget uncountable decades of economic and social oppression.

"Because of this, ORIT rejects ary suggestion of a military solution in the area, and more specifically condemns the militaristic policies of the Reagan Administration in Central America. We unconditionally support the efforts of the Contadora group of countries, as the only viable solution. What must be understood is that problems generated by a century of exploitation and repression cannot be solved in a day, a month, or even a year. We must press our governments to continue to support the Contadora initiative. We must do so ourselves. It can be successful, but it needs time, time that apparently Mr. Reagan is not willing to accord it.

"On the other hand, we must be absolutely clear. We believe in a process of change that includes a negotiated political solution to the armed conflict, and the establishment of democratic structures in Central America that will insure the economic and social development of their societies in a pluralistic manner, permitting the free participation of all sectors and tendencies. We cannot and will not, therefore, become apologists for regimes that will impose by force, intimidation or terror, a political system that would deny fundamental rights of participation to any sector of society. To us it makes no difference if an individual is imprisoned as a result of his trade union or political activities in either Chile, Salvador, Poland or Cuba.

"Turning briefly to South America, we can say that there is a ray of hope for democracy in that region. We know of developments in Argentina, where, for the first time in seven years, elections were conducted last October. That fragile democracy, beset by ills produced by years of military rule, has countless problems and needs all the support it can get, if it's going to survive. The trade union movement, although presently at odds with the Alfonsin Government as a result of the economic situation, has pledged to help sustain the constitutional order, above all other considerations.

"In Uruguay, there is a recuperated union movement, that is the driving force within a coalition that includes all political parties and that looks forward to the reinstatement of their democracy in the coming November elections. They have problems with the military that is proposing to retain a share of power and decision-making with a popularly elected government. We feel optimistic that the forces of reason and democracy will prevail.

"In Paraguay, for the first time in 30 years, there are forces, again spearheaded and led by a new trade union leadership, that seek to make the most of a minute political opening and organize a political movement to oppose the bloody Stroesner dictatorship. These courageous women and men deserve all our attention and support.

"In Chile the opposition to Pinochet is widespread. There, without any doubt, the fundamental force is the Comando Nacional de Trabajadores, that has become an international symbol of the struggle of the Chilean people to dump the dictatorship. They have staged various national protest events that have not only shown the world the repressive nature of the dictatorship, but have also demonstrated that the Chilean people totally reject the Pinochet regime. I wouldn't say that the dictator's days are counted. But we believe that his tenure in power is limited to months.

"The one negative factor that is common to all Latin America and the Caribbean states is the problem of the foreign debt. This tragic situation cannot be dealt with superficially, so I will limit myself to say that, unless the IMF relaxes their stronghold on these countries, there will be a violent social explosion throughout this continent that will most probably be a repetition of the incidents of past April in the Dominican Republic, where the armed forces repressed popular protest over the economic situation, killing at least 60, seriously injuring more than 600 and imprisoning more than four thousand persons.

"I am really sorry to come here and depict such a deplorable picture of our continent, but such are the realities that we face. We hope to be able to continue to count on the support of the CLC in our struggle for peace, social justice and freedom.

"We also express the solidarity of all ORIT's affiliates with the workers of Canada, and our best wishes for the successful conclusion of this Convention, knowing that your work will help promote the cause of all workers and the people of Canada."

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

ELECTIONS CHAIRMAN (Mr. Louis Laberge): We have the results. First the good news. We will not need another ballot. Then further good news, we had fourteen elected, and six women. Everything being in order, here are the results:

No. 1	Roxie Baker	1,718 votes
No. 2	Val Bourgeois	1,688 votes
No. 3	James Buchanan	1,709 votes
No. 4	Sam Fox	1,661 votes
No. 5	Louisette Hinton	1,712 votes
No. 6	Jean Lavallée	1,603 votes
No. 7	Kathy Maddison	617 votes
No. 8	Robert McGarry	985 votes
No. 9	Doreen Morton	1,706 votes
No. 10	Lucie Nicholson	1,721 votes
No. 11	Jean-Claude Parrot	874 votes
No. 12	Dave Patterson	1,566 votes
No. 13	Fred Pomeroy	1,667 votes
No. 14	C. Neil Reimer	1,584 votes
No. 16	Denis Simard	386 votes
No. 17	Frances Soboda	1,685 votes
No. 18	Diane Wood	1,702 votes

There were 1,870 ballots cast: 114 spoiled. That leaves us with a balance of 1,756. A candidate would need about 880 votes to get elected. I am pleased to report the following elected persons: Roxie Baker, Val Bourgeois, James Buchanan, Sam Fox, Louisette Hinton, Jean Lavallée, Robert McGarry, Doreen Morton, Lucie Nicholson, Dave Patterson, Fred Pomeroy, C. Neil Reimer, Frances Soboda, Diane Wood. Congratulations.

All of the sister and brother delegates who have been declared elected for all of the offices would you please come up front for the swearing-in ceremony.

Would the delegates please give us a bit of their attention! All of the elected officers will please repeat after me, giving their name instead of mine:

> "I, Louis Laberge, do hereby sincerely pledge my word and honour, to perform my duties as an officer of the Canadian Labour Congress. I will attend, when able to do so, all meetings of the Executive Committee or Council of which I shall be a member. At the end of my term of office, I shall turn over to the Canadian Labour Congress or to my successor all properties, all funds in my possession that belong to the Congress."

I want to congratulate you most sincerely.

Unfortunately that is the end of my job. I want to return the gavel to the President of the Canadian Labour Congress so he can continue to do his best efforts as he has always done in the past for all of us in this big family of labour.

PRESIDENT (Mr. McDermott): To our good friend, Louis Laberge, may I express on your behalf our deep appreciation to him for the usual fine and excellent job that he does up here conducting the elections. Thank you Louis.

MR. JEAN-CLAUDE PARROT (CUPW President): First of all, I would like to congratulate those who were elected. I can assure them of our full support for the next two years. I can assure the Congress that the CUPW will continue to play the role it has always played in the labour movement, that we will support the policies, that we will try to help to implement them and that we will also seek to make sure that they are going to be implemented. To Brother Laberge, I wish to say that I shall not wait two years; I belong to the trade union movement and, first thing tomorrow morning, the trade union movement goes on. In spite of the fact that I am not going to be on the Executive Council, you can rest assured that you are going to continue to hear from me and from the CUPW and, I am sure, from many others. Again, thank you and good luck to those who were elected.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Back to work. I will call on the Chairman of the Committee to make the statement on peace.

MR. G. DOCQUIER (Chairman, International Affairs Committee): Resolutions IA 12-18, 20, 21, 25-27, 30, 35, 41, 42, 44, 46-48, 52, 54, 56-60 and 63 are covered by the statement on *Peace, Security and Disarmament* and by the following substitute resolution:

> "WHEREAS the Canadian Labour Congress has concluded that the world must 'Disarm or die', and
>
> "WHEREAS both superpowers continue to pay lip service to this while accelerating the arms race; and
>
> "WHEREAS this arms race consumes billions of dollars every year, substantially increasing inflation, unemployment, world starvation, injustice and insecurity; and
>
> "WHEREAS the labour movement and its allies are principal sources of moral and political strength to popularize and spearhead an authentic movement for peace, security, and disarmament;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the CLC and its affiliates make disarmament and arms control an urgent priority through, among other things, the adoption and promotion of the Policy Statement, 'Peace, Security and Disarmament: A Canadian Labour Response', and through working for the successful conclusion of the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that through its international contacts the CLC ensure that all governments and their publics know that we must 'Disarm or Die'."

PEACE, SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT: A CANADIAN LABOUR RESPONSE

"'Everything has changed but our mode of reasoning and so we drift toward unparalleled disaster.' Albert Einstein, after the explosion of the first atomic bomb in 1945.

"'In spite of the immeasurable importance of nuclear weapons . . . we have thus far failed to fashion, or to discover within ourselves, an emotional or intellectual or political response to them.' Jonathan Schell, *The Fate of the Earth*, 1983.

"The arms race and the sophistication and ever-widening proliferation of nuclear weapons confront life on this planet with an unparalleled threat to its very existence in a period when progress to reduce tensions and to promote détente have suffered serious reversals. The Canadian Labour Congress will not stand by and witness a drift to disaster. We will play our part, and we will challenge others to play theirs.

Where we stand

"Peace is the condition for economic progress and social justice. It must be based on respect for national sovereignty, the elimination of poverty, the exercise of human freedoms, collective security, and disarmament.

"Lasting peace is a prerequisite for achieving full employment and income security. Unemployment, hunger and poverty cause tensions and war.

"Living in peace means enjoying freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of associaton and freedom of movement. All nations have the right to full national independence and the oppression of individuals, peoples and nations is a threat to peace.

"Peace also means that nations should be able to defend their values, their way of life, their culture, though defence requirements do not under any circumstances justify the arms race and should not be used as a pretext for the forcible occupation of territory.

"Every effort must be made to eliminate sources of tension, to give fresh impetus to confidence-building measures, to strengthen the machinery for resolving conflicts peacefully and to assure global collective security.

"All nations must rededicate themselves to the principles of the United Nations' Charter and promote respect for the U.N. in its efforts to promote these principles.

"The arms race involves a shameful waste of precious human, natural and capital resources. These should be turned to meeting the basic needs of hundreds of millions of people living in dire poverty throughout the world.

The problems

"Since the last World War, there have been over 130 armed conflicts, most of them in developing countries. Their causes are many, and the legacy of colonialsim, racism and competition for trade and resources were at the root of them. Some regimes have used arms against their own people to stay in power, and the growth of international terrorism increases insecurity and instability. The ever-widening chasm between North and South adds a new dimension of danger. These conflicts have carried the risk of world disaster through the involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union.

"Today peace is in greater danger than ever. Super-power adventurism in the Third World has dealt a severe blow to the process of détente from which it has not recovered. There are too few signs that either of the super powers is ready to respond to the determined wish of people throughout the world for an easing of tension and a drawing back from the nuclear precipice.

The arms race, arms industry and trade

"In 1933, a total of more than $750 billion was spent on military expenditure.

"NATO and the Warsaw Pact account for most of it, but other industrialized countries have their share.

"A considerable number of developing countries have joined the arms race, and their share is now estimated to be over 15 per cent of global military expenditure as against eight per cent in 1976.

"The development of military technology has an escalating effect on the arms race. The development of new weapons leads to development of similar weapons or systems to counter them in a vicious spiral. Rumours about the development of hideous chemical and biological weapons have reached unprecedented levels. Centres of production have spread over more countries. The continuous expansion of ever more sophisticated conventional weapons itself creates a pressure for their use.

"The arms race in recent years has not only been in numbers of weapons but in technological improvements, and more improvements lurk on the horizon.

The full extent of arms sales is unknown. Much of it is cloaked in secrecy but it is absolutely clear that it has increased enormously with the entry of new suppliers and clients on the arms market. In 1983, Canada's exports were worth more than a billion dollars.

"We urgently need effective international control of the arms trade.

Nuclear arms

"The United States and the Soviet Union possess over 95 per cent of the existing 40-50,000 nuclear warheads. Other nations which have nuclear weapons are China, France and the United Kingdom, and there are frightening reports that several other nations have or are developing nuclear devices.

"The delivery systems of nuclear weapons are increasingly accurate and the accelerating sophistication of nuclear arms and equipment brings new uncertainties and instability.

"Nuclear arms represent an immediate threat to the existence of human life, giving neither peace nor security. New research findings point to the inescapable conclusion that it is vital to move as rapidly as possible to reduce global nuclear arsenals below levels that might well cause climatic catastrophe and cascading biological devastation, and such a reduction would have to be to a small percentage of the present strategic arsenals.

> "'In almost any realistic case involving nuclear exchanges between the superpowers, global environmental changes sufficient to cause an extinction even equal to, or more severe than, that at the close of the Cretaceous when the dinosaurs and many other species died out are likely. In that event, the possibility of the extinction of Homo sapiens cannot be excluded.' Forty American Biologists, spring 1983.

"We need a climate of mutual concern and co-operation, if we are to escape safely from the nuclear trap that the superpowers have jointly set for themselves, our civilization, and our species.

"Immediate progress towards general, balanced disarmament under effective international control is imperative.

Arms and jobs

"Military activities and the manufacture of armaments employ about 60 million people throughout the world. Half of them are in industry, the other half in the armed forces.

"A considerable part of military expenditure is devoted to producing arms and equipment requiring major capital investment.

"National and international companies have a vested interest in maintaining this production, and often have close access to and great influence over governments and legislatures. The arms lobby must be brought under control. Most military contracts operate on a cost-plus basis so that the contractors are guaranteed a fixed profit on their costs. With little incentive to improve efficiency and cut waste, costs rise. Arms spending is inflationary. The Council on Economic Priorities in the United States has demonstrated a link between high military spending and low investment in other industrial sectors, which leads to out-dated machinery, low productivity, and a decline in international competitiveness. The resources wasted on arms could be devoted to production for peaceful and constructive purposes which would create more jobs than the capital-intensive defence industries.

"This requires early planning of measures for reconversion and retraining to take full advantage of the potential for creating additional jobs and meeting social needs. In Sweden, the government has tried to prevent arms contracts monopolizing a production facility. A company will normally be prevented from devoting more than 20 per cent of its production to armaments, and grants are given to encourage diversification. Companies have to demonstrate that they have a plan for conversion before any military contract is awarded. Care is also taken to ensure that defence production is spread geographically so that individual communities do not become dependent on military production. Reconversion cannot be left to chance; our jobs, and our lives, depend on it. Reconversion needs to be integrated in a national active economic and industrial policy. It requires public control and the involvement of working people through their trade union organizations. The commitment to reconversion has to be part of future Canadian arms spending and international disarmament agreements.

"*The armament budgets of all nations should be cut and resources reallocated to development.*

The illusion of nuclear strategy

"The myth that nuclear weapons are only for defence must be exposed. By their very nature, they are weapons of mass and mutual destruction.

"Their deterrent effect is outweighed by the threat to security associated with the growing number of warheads on both sides, the sophistication of delivery systems and the risk of accidents.

"The number of deployed nuclear warheads on systems with ranges greater than 1,000 miles is approximately the same, 11,000, for both superpowers. Their nuclear forces are structured in different ways but all of the definitional asymmetries, which hide the basic reality, could be set aside by moving to a simple common ceiling on the total number of warheads, a celing now shown by Carl Sagan and others to be crucial at no more than 2,000.

"A simple limit on warheads would facilitate the replacement of MIRVs by single-warhead missiles, with a consequential increase in our chances of survival in a nuclear age. As long as the two sides' forces are roughly in balance, no attack against single-warhead missiles is attractive because the attacker cannot improve the balance of forces by striking first.

"Reductions in the number of existing weapons address the view that the nuclear arsenals of both sides have grown dangerously and irresponsibly large, but reductions are not as simple as they first look. The wrong kind of reductions could increase instability, not lessen it. This might occur if long-range single-warhead missiles were reduced instead of the MIRVed missiles which carry many warheads, increasing the fears of pre-emptive strikes. The MIRVed missiles are more destabilizing, and should be controlled, reduced, and dismantled, sooner than any other system apart from the Pershing II missiles.

"More than any other weapon in NATO's inventory, the Pershing II threatens crisis stability. Its accuracy, speed and nearness to Soviet targets give it first-strike capability and there is a real danger that, in a mounting crisis, these missiles could attract a pre-emptive Soviet strike.

"While their deployment only marginally affects the low probability of the outbreak of war in Europe, it substantially increases the probability that such a war would rapidly go nuclear.

"The modern, solid-fueled Soviet SS-20s are highly mobile, and also highly threatening. Furthermore, all the targets now covered by them could be easily covered by Moscow's missiles which are also capable of reaching the United States, without seriously depleting this capability.

"'All-out nuclear war would mean the destruction of contemporary civilization.' Andrei Sakharov, summer 1983.

"It is a fatal illusion that a limited nuclear war could be fought. The use of medium-range and tactical weapons such as the SS-20, Cruise and Pershing II missiles, would trigger inexorably global nuclear annihilation.

"The destructive power of nuclear weapons and the grave risk of rapid escalation to a general nuclear exchange which most likely would result from the first use of theatre nuclear weapons are persuasive arguments for keeping the nuclear threshold in Europe as high as possible.

"The fact remains that the best guarantee against nuclear war is to strengthen the barrier not between conventional and nuclear war, but between peace and war.

"The critical threshold is the beginning of a combat, and the maintenance of the existing high level of conventional forces itself paradoxically fosters the acceptance of tactical and intermediate nuclear weapons.

"*Any nuclear strategy endangers security.*

Obstacles to disarmament

"The governments are aware of the danger inherent in the arms race but still they have not put a stop to it, clinging as they do to the illusion they can achieve security through increasing their nuclear and conventional forces.

"Some critics argue that a ceiling on warheads would be impossible to verify adequately, and verification is the most significant political obstacle. The key to verifying warhead limits lies in allowing the superpowers to count the system that delivers the warheads and estimate the number of warheads each system carries. Both sides would likely agree to count warheads as if each system carried the maximum number physically possible, even if in practice fewer were deployed. The need for trust is actually limited in such an approach. The struggle for economic and political dominance feeds the lack of trust between states and induces them to arm themselves. Further distrust is fed by the build-up of arms.

"As long as this attitude prevails, the machinery aimed at promoting security as in the United Nations, or through the Committee on Disarmament, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Vienna talks (MBFR), the SALT process or bilateral negotiations on arms limitation, will never be used effectively.

"Governments — East and West — have not drawn the inescapable conclusion of their self-destructive policy: *They must disarm or life will be obliterated.*

What we must do

"The Canadian Labour Congress and its affiliates, voicing the great concern of the people of Canada and workers throughout the world,

- Demand that the pursuit of peace should have priority over all political objectives, as important as these remain;
- Reject the use of force to resolve political and economic problems;
- Commit themselves to promoting realistic détente between East and West and the resolutions of conflicts through negotiation and agreement;
- Condemn the reliance on nuclear weapons and the build-up of conventional arms;
- Demand the immediate cessation of nuclear weapon production and testing;
- Demand effective national and international control of the arms trade, and especially of Canada's part in it.

"The CLC will work:

- For serious negotiations leading to general disarmament under international control through the U.N. Disarmament Commission, the Disarmament Committee, the MBFR talks and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe;
- For the conclusion of bilateral agreements between U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. on the reduction, limitation and control of strategic and theatre nuclear weapons and in particular for the speedy withdrawal and termination of production of SS-20 missiles by the U.S.S.R. and the abandonment by the U.S.A. of production and deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles;

- For the urgent development by national governments and international institutions, especially the UN and the ILO, of policies of reconversion in close co-operation with representative trade union organizations such as our own;
- For the genuine application of confidence-building measures, particularly those which would create greater openness and more predictability in military activities in order to reduce the risk of surprise attack, diminish the threat of armed conflict in Europe resulting from misunderstanding and miscalculation and inhibit the use of force for the purpose of political intimidation;
- For agreement on the creation and progressive enlargement of nuclear-free zones, beginning with Canada;
- For universal ratification and implementation of the Treaty of Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, to combat both horizontal and vertical proliferation.

"The CLC and its affiliates will:

- Assess the employment growth and trade implications of disarmament, and pursue a program of reconversion and retraining to contribute to a better climate for disarmament negotiations and agreements;
- Keep a close watch on the official Canadian contribution to international disarmament negotiations and advance our own proposals;
- Promote the redeployment of resources from arms production to meeting basic needs and to the transition to a new economic and social order for Canada and the world;
- Promote education, discussion, and the exchange of information on problems of peace, security and disarmament, not only in the labour movement but in Canadian society at large, acting directly and through initiatives such as Project Ploughshares, Operation Dismantle, and the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign.

> "'When the first atomic bomb exploded in a New Mexico desert in 1945, life itself changed. Never again would children be free from fear of the bomb. Never again would we parents be able to reassure them, nor to calm our own anxieties.' — Prime Minister Trudeau, February 1984.

"The Canadian Labour Congress wants to free its members, their families and children, from fear of nuclear devastation, from war itself. We love this planet, and we do not want to witness its destruction.

"Nor will we acquiesce in its use as home base for any who wish to play Star Wars.

"An agreement for both superpowers to abandon the development of weapons in space, either for satellite destruction or for ballistic missile defence, would profoundly improve international stability in the coming decades.

> " 'Our loyalties are to the species and the planet. We speak for Earth. Our obligation to survive is owed not just to ourselves but also to the Cosmos, ancient and vast, from which we spring' — Carl Sagan, author of *Cosmos*."

MR. G. DOCQUIER (International Affairs Committee Chairman): I move the adoption of both the resolution and the document that is before the Convention, seconded by Terry Meagher.

ACTING CHAIRPERSON (Ms. S. Carr, CLC Secretary-Treasurer): We are dealing with a very serious issue here and I would ask that we now try to calm down from the excitement of the elections so that we can deal with these documents.

MR. P. STIER (CALFAA, Secretary-Treasurer): Madam Chairperson, my union stands fully in support of the Document No. 20 presented by the Committee and votes in concurrence with this document. Airline cabin crew members in Canada and everywhere in the world, by nature of their jobs, travel internationally, are representative of and live as close as possible with the international public in a tube hurdling 800 km per hour through the air. We have learned to understand the behaviour and the desires of foreign nationals. We lived amidst them during our lay-overs. We have learned to value everyone, regardless of national origin, as human beings. Our job demands compassion.

Nuclear armament is the possibility of the total annihilation of the human race regardless of nationality. To manufacture and to stock nuclear weapons will assure their possible use. One missile released, regardless if it is a dummy or real, will release all stops to fire the 40 or 50,000 warheads. Just see the military expertise: nobody questions, once the order is given, what they are actually doing.

Every person who is not convinced should see the video film *The Day After*. One sentence expressed by one of the actors says it all, once the reality struck that nuclear weapons were released: "What are we going to do now?" Well the reality is, it is too late at that time. The only time we can do something about it, is to stop this lunacy, to stop the illusion of nuclear strategy, limited nuclear war, is now, today. To stop the nuclear arms race, to establish trust between human beings, requires compassion. Compassion heals wounds, compassion saves lives. Ask the nurses and the doctors and ambulance drivers. We at CALFAA stand in concurrence with the CLC program of action and hope that the $750 billion spent last year, or invested in military expenditures, is expended to create jobs, to train displaced workers to continue to work in the technological change environment, and relieve human beings from poverty. We may finally see activities for North-South dialogue instead of the constant East-West dialogue. As Albert Einstein once said "I don't know how World War III is going to be fought but I know how World War IV is going to be fought, it's going to be fought with sticks and stones."

Let us stop the nuclear arms race unilaterally; demonstrate to eradicate any nuclear weapon from the earth; declare Canada a nuclear-free-zone. Let us demonstrate our compassion for our fellow human beings as we demonstrate our compassion here in this house of labour. Let us create a decent life for our children. Let this world live, because we love this planet.

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT, Local 175): I would like to speak against this policy on Peace, Security and Disarmament and what our response in the labour movement should be to it. The question of opposition to the preparations of the imperialists for war, and the struggle of the people against the danger of war, is one of the most extremely important questions facing us today. And we have to be very careful in what approach we should take to this question, so that we are right on the mark. In reading this document, it is quite clear that one of the main emphases is that the labour movement must put pressure on the super powers, on the U.S. and on the Soviet Union who, both together, represent the most serious danger of war we face today, that the labour movement should reduce its role to pressuring the super powers to discussing, negotiating and disarming. It is here that I have the most opposition to this paper and it is here that I see the main danger. Those who are the source of war in the world today can never be the source of the solution to the problem. This has never happened in history and it will not happen now. This is to take the struggle for peace out of the hands of the workers, the progressive democratic people, and put it in the hands of the imperialists. Our role would be simply to stand on the sideline and hope that these war-mongers can reach some kind of agreement for peace, for an arms reduction and so on.

The talks between these super powers, which you should remember go on all the time, alongside the escalating preparations for war, will not reduce the danger of war, and in fact this is not the purpose of these talks. The purpose is to put us to sleep, to blunt our struggles and the talks are an integral part of the appropriations of the super powers for war. So we must be extremely vigilant on this question. The role of the workers has to be one of resolute struggle against those who are the source of war, against the imperialist super powers and against the imperialist system itself which has as its mission domination and not freedom. The program which must be taken up must be one that hits at this source of war which hits at imperialism and the demands of this program have to include that Canada should get out of NATO and NORAD.

It is through these aggressive alliances that Canada is hooked to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism. Our Armed Forces are under the direct command of the Pentagon, and this is a part of the continuing domination of Canada by U.S. imperialists. We must fight for the sovereignty of Canada against this domination. Our program has to be resolute against both of the super powers and both of their aggressive pacts not only NATO, but it also has to be against the Warsaw pact.

We have to fight on the testing of the Cruise, but also any other weapons that they want to test in Canada, and against the use of our ports, and against the use of our soil for the training of foreign troops like the training of those West German NATO troops in Shilo, with the full co-operation of the Manitoba NDP government. Our program has to be a resolute stand against all the war preparations, not just nuclear but also the conventional weapons, and we must support all those people around the world who are fighting for social and national liberation, because their struggle strengthens our struggle, and their struggles weaken our enemy, and this is the program that has to be taken up by the peace-loving people of Canada.

MS. A. SWARBRICK (UFCW, Local 175): This is the most crucial issue facing us today. I believe that every delegate in this room very much agrees that the issue of peace is an issue that we have to support very strongly. I am Chairperson of the Labour Council of Metro Toronto's Peace and Disarmament Committee. I do not believe that every delegate in this room believes that disarmament is the way to achieve peace, and I do not believe that every delegate in this room is convinced that peace is legitimate trade union business, and that it is a priority for trade unions to be working on today. It is really important that we leave here committed to both those things so I would like to speak on the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign and it's effectiveness as a vehicle for us to involve labour very clearly in achieving peace.

It would take either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. about 200 nuclear weapons to blow the other side off the face of this earth. One side has about 30,000 of those nuclear weapons, the other side has about 20,000 of those nuclear weapons, and personally I do not really care which is which, and I do not think that the majority of Canadians really care which is which.

I ask you to consider just what those figures really mean. Think of being in your home, and think of having two neighbours beside you who just hate each other, who threaten each other constantly, piling up nuclear weapons in their rooms, as full as their rooms will take them, marching the night in the back yard, threatening each other back and forth; if any of those weapons ever went off they are big enough to take your house out with it. How would you feel living between those two neighbours, because that is exactly the situation that we are in in this world today and those amounts of weapons possessed by both of those super powers and by other countries.

Another example of a way to look at those figures that other people have used is to consider picturing Reagan and Andropov sitting in a bath-tub together. I guess I kind of think that is cure to start with, until you picture that bath-tub being filled with gasoline, until you picture one of them having nine matches, the other having twelve matches and both of them trying to get more to make each other more secure. I think that helps to show us that the way that the arms race is continuing to grow and escalate today it is not something that is making it more secure, it is something that in fact makes us extremely insecure, and threatens our very lives.

Another way to look at this is the mountains of money going into the arms race. If you took just what the U.S. alone spends in arms in one year, and you added the one dollar bills up in a vertical pile, that pile could go over 30,000 miles high. If you take the money that is spent on the arms race around the world in one minute, it is $1.3 million. Imagine the amount of food, vaccinations, the amount of disease that could be dealt with, with that amount of money, $1.3 million.

We have all come to accept today that health and safety is a very legitimate trade union issue. We are talking here about the most basic health and safety issue that there is. It is the issue of life itself, of survival itself. We are talking also about the matter of stress and we have all come to accept in health and safety courses that stress is a legitimate health and safety issue. I feel daily a very real amount of stress from the nuclear arms build-up and I am not the only one. People are talking about it on union courses now, stewards' courses, union counselling courses. That is something that has to be dealt with too.

ACTING CHAIRPERSON (Ms. S. Carr): Sister, you have to wind down; your time is up.

MS. A. SWARBRICK (UFCW, Local 175): The Peace Petition Caravan Campaign is a very clear way for us to come together with peace groups, church groups, women's groups, everyone who cares about peace in this country, and work together towards it.

ACTING CHAIRPERSON (Ms. S. Carr): Sister I am sorry, you have now spoken your time limit. I have to go to mike 3.

MR. W. MUNDLE (CUPW, Moncton Local): The only reason I am at a "con" mike is not so much that I oppose the policy statement. My concern is that sometimes the policy statements and our words don't translate into actions. The reason that we have come here is to make our criticisms known and try to be more effective and give direction to the leadership. So we call for resolutions with more action in them to make a better organization, and when we have problems like the one in Nicaragua, we get up and speak and say we support them, but find out that the Executive Council has rejected a similar resolution. It gives me cause for a concern. Dealing with the issue of peace, I have the same cause for concern because again we are saying one thing and we are doing another one.

I just came back from an international peace conference, it was held in Managua a few weeks back, and it is very sad to say that the Canadian Labour Congress was not represented at that peace conference, and it is a shame that they were not there. I would like to know why. There were about twelve representatives from Canada who went there, either representing their own unions, some representing national unions as I did with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. The electrical union was represented nationally and other people represented their locals of their labour councils. But the CLC was not there, and that is a very serious situation. The purpose of the Conference was to talk, first of all, about peace in Central America, non-intervention and American aggression. Brother McDermott, on the opening day, stressed the imminent danger that we are faced with of an all-out war in this continent. The other point that the conference was called to deal with was world-wide peace, the end of cruise missiles and disarmament. I say the CLC was not there, so how can we go around talking about peace but miss an opportunity to meet with trade unionists from around the world — representatives at that conference were from 68 different countries: over 300 delegates. To go down the road much further another year, two years and then decide we are going to support the efforts of people like this, it may be too late. We might not have that much time because what we are faced with today is an end to the world as we know right now, and I would like someone to explain why the CLC was not at that conference. If it is simply because the ICFTU refused to recognize it, then I do not think that it is reason enough because the ICFTU is not going to be sitting round when the rest of the world is blown to hell.

ACTING CHAIRPERSON (Ms. S. Carr): Member of the Committee.

MR. D. COLLINS (International Affairs Committee Member): I just want to say a couple of words in support of the document of the Committee. I would first like to congratulate Anne Swarbrick who made, I think, an excellent effort, trying to make the case for what the labour movement's role is in the Peace Petition Caravan and what the labour movement in the Toronto area is trying to do to get the Caravan on, off and running, and trying to make it a success and make it a major issue in the up-coming elections this fall. I think it is important that the delegates understand that all of the resolutions we debated here — social justice and economic justice for working people — are secondary and mean absolutely nothing if we are not able to get our membership and get the people of this country involved in the issue of the world peace and disarmament.

If you look around the world today, you do not have to be an expert on international affairs or be a solid promoter of world peace. You just turn on the six o'clock or ten o'clock or eleven o'clock news and watch what is taking place across the world today. If you look at what is happening in Central America, which we discussed earlier, if you look at what is happening in Iran, and Iraq, where thousands of people have been killed over the last two or three years in that on-going war. Finally, they are starting to blow up some oil tankers and it is national news. That could be the issue that leads to the nuclear holocaust, if enough interested and ordinary people around the world do not get involved and do not start expressing their opinion to the world leaders that this insanity has to stop.

The issue of peace is a very difficult issue to get people excited about, get ordinary Canadian people who work in our plants and offices involved in, but we have a responsibility. Canada plays a role in the development and the design of the delivery system for the cruise missile. That puts us squarely into the arms race as Canadians.

Our Prime Minister took up the gavel of peace, went around the world with a cruise missile in one hand and a peace dove in the other, went around the world talking about nuclear disarmament and world peace. We did make a contribution to the debate on world peace by escalating the issue in the minds of Canadians and getting a debate going. In the labour movement we can capitalize on that issue.

In the city of Toronto, where the campaign for the Peace Petition Caravan has started, we are getting an 80 per cent positive response, when we knock on doors asking people what their position is on the issue of nuclear arms and getting them to raise this issue with the politicians if and when the election is called this fall. We can play a role as workers, as leaders of workers, in that very important campaign. I would urge the delegates here to get away from the argument of whether or not if you stand for peace and disarmament, some will try to put you in the camp that you are in support of the build-up of nuclear arms, that somehow puts you in support of Reaganism and the others. That is not the issue. The issue is we respect that there are different nations in this world, different people, different political systems and can we learn to live together on this planet. Or are we going to allow the politicians and the others who make the decisions, the generals, to destroy this planet. That is the issue, and I suggest we have to learn to live together and would urge the delegates to get behind the Peace Petition Caravan.

ACTING CHAIRPERSON (Ms. S. Carr): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate please raise your hand. Any opposed? I will now put the question. The adoption of the substitute resolution and the document. All those in favour. Down. Any opposed? The motion is carried.

ADDRESS BY HOWARD PAWLEY
Premier of Manitoba

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We have a visitor who dropped in, he is a person that we talked a great deal about on Monday of this week, and I do mean our good friend the Premier of the New Democratic Government of Manitoba, Howard Pawley.

MR. H. PAWLEY (Premier of Manitoba): With that kind of welcome, I enjoy myself so much better here this afternoon than if I had been in the Manitoba Legislature having to quarrel with Conservatives across the way.

Greetings, my friends.

I thank you for the opportunity of giving me a chance to speak to you today. I want to focus my remarks on what I believe to be the compelling reasons for your attendance here at this Convention, and what I believe to be the compelling themes within any democratic society, that is, bread, peace and freedom.

Our country, and the world we share as human kind, has been undergoing a crisis. During the past two or three years, the impacts of that are profound. Some are more obvious than others but they relate to my theme this afternoon. The economic crisis has savaged the stability and the progress of most nations of this planet earth. In Canada, the costs for us have been evident. We have seen hundreds of thousands of our best men and women unemployed. It has been reflected in the destruction of hope and inspiration for almost sadly an entire generation of young people. It has indeed been mirrored in the development of concern and distress on the part of our elderly citizens and among those who are poor and less fortunate in our society. It has been their needs that have been relegated to lower and lower priorities.

At the same time, growing international tensions, the constant manifestations of wars and the threats of war have made our search for peace at times seem even more elusive. The flames of conflict have been burning, and are burning whether it be in the Middle East or in Central America. Overshadowing all these events and conflicts is the race which has created an international balance of terror, as the super powers have escalated both their ideological rhetoric and their stockpiles of weaponry. Global spending for weapons for military purposes next year will total one trillion dollars, that is one million million dollars. Arms manufacture and sale is indeed one of the few industries that is thriving and prospering in the world today. This terrible waste of both physical and human resources, this demeaning use of human ingenuity and effort is self-perpetuating madness. It is predicated in the assumption that indeed there can be winners in a nuclear Armageddon.

In the intense preoccupation that is taking place with economic and with military turmoil, the eventual victim frequently becomes freedom itself. Freedom is destroyed when force is used to replace reason. The strength of any philosophy cannot be truly measured by the calibre of weapons rattled in its cause. Temporary economic circumstances should not be used as a reason to wipe out hard-won freedoms in any democratic society.

I raise these concerns today, which may in fact seem abstract within the context of many practical issues that you are dealing with, but indeed it is one that we must indeed confront in this parliament of labour. I raise them today with no apology. Some rational approaches must be used to solve the dilemmas that confront us. They have a direct bearing on your ability to be here debating practical issues in the hard-won rights and freedom that you enjoy as you represent your fellow brothers and sisters.

In returning to my theme, I would like to mention that we are starting to emerge from the recession which has sapped economic vitality of Canada. In Manitoba, we have been spared some of the worst manifestsations partly by nature of the Manitoba economy, but partly, I am proud to say this afternoon, because we have used the tools of government to offset the market forces of the market place. A centre piece to those policies has been the development of our jobs fund, which created 21,000 jobs in Manitoba last year. The $200 million job fund, supplemented by other levels of government and community monies, including contributions by the labour movement, was used to create employment for Manitobans. Other governments elsewhere tried to rely exclusively, and without success, on the private sector. We were subject to the same restrictions as existed in other provincial governments, insofar as government revenues, but our government did not decide to run back or to move back. We used the available resources that we had to help stimulate economic growth, to generate jobs, to protect our basic social services, such as medicare and day care. It was not easy.

It still is not easy, as we try to nurture a fragile and tentative economic recovery to ensure more health. But we have successes in Manitoba. In ten of eleven economic indicators, Manitoba is performing as well, or better than any other province. We have the second lowest rate of unemployment presently in the province of Manitoba. In March we had the lowest rate of unemployment. Manitoba is leading the western provinces by way of an eight per cent increase for the third straight year. The value of building permits in Manitoba for the first three months of 1984 is up 47.5 per cent, the highest increase in any province in Canada, in this year of 1984. In 1983 capital investment was up 10.3 per cent, the forecast for 1984 in Manitoba is that we will have 11.5 per cent increase which again, is the strongest increase in any province in Canada, insofar as 1984 is concerned. Construction, economic growth, the production of goods and services are the highest or indeed amongst the highest forecast for any province.

There was nothing that was magical about the progress that we have made. The positive steps we took to stimulate the economy, to create jobs, to preserve jobs, to enhance critical social services, that indeed has not been done in other jurisdictions. I believe it can only be done in Canada and in ten provincial jurisdictions, if there is a New Democratic Party government in each of those jurisdictions, that is the only path, that is the only way.

If what we achieved in Manitoba had been done in each of the ten provinces and in Ottawa, we might have limited the immense costs, not just economic costs, not just the loss of jobs, but the loss of spirit, the loss of hope, the loss of confidence. Indeed, if that had been done, Canadians would not now be bearing the burden that good men and women throughout Canada must carry, because of antiquated economic and social policies thrust upon them by Liberal and Conservative administrations.

In Manitoba, I believe the success that we have enjoyed is a testament to the hard work of Manitobans, to sound economic planning, to a deliberate and calculated thrust, to a co-operative spirit of our people. It indeed has been their success, it has been a measure of what is possible for people working together through intelligent planning, to produce, to contribute. Much of that was done, let me tell you, through conscious development of a process of consultation, co-operation within the Manitoba community, and not through mindless and stupid confrontation that indeed has taken place in some parts of Canada.

I want to play special tribute this afternoon, to the role played by Dick Martin and to the Manitoba Federation of Labour. I want also to congratulate Dick Martin on his election as Executive Vice-President of the CLC, and it warms my heart that indeed he has been chosen by you at this Convention. I am not suggesting this afternoon that the representatives of our government and of organized labour always agree. Dick Martin, as you know, has a very forceful way of expressing himself, but what indeed does take place between the Manitoba Federation of Labour and our government is that we respect each other, we trust each other, we have meaningful dialogue, we have a relationship which is based upon co-operation, a respect for the rights and the responsibilities of each other. Part of that respect flows from the need to preserve freedom, where many would erode it in the pursuit of economic goals for the few, rather than the many. We have maintained, and we have hopefully strengthened, and we are continuing to strengthen in Manitoba the free collective bargaining process, because we believe, as a government, in the free collective bargaining process, and that process should not be eroded or trampled upon, because we believe that its an intricate part of any democratic or free society. I sometimes marvel at those, you know, that express profound and deep concern at the erosion of freedoms in other countries; they praise the solidarity movement in Poland, while demanding that the rights of trade unionists in Canada be curtailed and trampled. I say to you, freedom is indivisable. When economic freedom is eroded, the assault on social and political freedom is not far behind. But freedom without life, freedom in the shadow of annihilation, is not of great consequence.

Earlier this week in Manitoba, I signed a proclamation and I note your debate of a few moments ago, declaring the first week of June in Manitoba, Peace Week. I did so, because I believe each and every one of us we can work together to strive for a peaceful future for our children and our children's children and the generations that will come after.

Through the past few years, millions of people around the world, from all walks of life, have joined hands to walk, to work, to speak up for peace. Last year we had 30,000 walk for peace in Winnipeg and earlier this year I note that 100,000 people walked for peace in Vancouver, British Columbia.

It is critical this year, the year when the cruise missile is being tested in our country, that our numbers swell and our voices become stronger for peace. There must be a global freeze in the production, the testing, the deployment of nuclear weapons. We must add our voices, the voices of Canadians everywhere, in the offices, in the stores, on the plant floors, the factories, the fields, and on the oceans, to the swelling throng that seeks a renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons and a rapid program of balanced multilateral disarmament. Vigilance is necessary to maintain the freedoms that we all cherish. Intelligent planning can create the abundance needed to provide us with bread. We will hopefully fulfill the stewardship that is ours on behalf of this land and our children. In winning this struggle for peace, we can proceed to ensure that there is a greater equity, greater co-operation, a greater improvement of the human condition. Thank you brothers and sisters for inviting me. (Standing ovation)

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You know when Howard was talking I was sitting back there and thinking to myself: If we could somehow collectively muster the good political common sense that the Manitobans obviously have developed. If we could have all of the other Premiers of the provinces of this land come here and make the frank and open statement that free collective bargaining is desirable, that peace is necessary, then we would be well on our way to creating the kind of society that we desire for ourselves in this country.

Now I want the Committee on Social Action and Services up here, if they are not already here.

MR. L. RUFO (Print-Media Union of Alberta, Local 36): My point of information is will the Committee on Constitution and Laws be back on this Convention floor? There are seven resolutions to be dealt with yet.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): When the agenda permits it, probably sometime tomorrow.

MR. W. MUNDLE (CUPW, Moncton): I asked a question with respect to the Peace Conference and I thought the Committee Chairman was going to answer. Maybe you may be the more appropriate person, as to why the CLC did not participate in that conference, I did not get an answer brother, I wonder if we could do that.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Well you asked for an answer from the Chairman and I am not the Chairman of the Committee.

SOCIAL ACTION AND SERVICES COMMITTEE

MR. S. FOX (ACTWU, Chairman, Social Action and Services Committee): First, get out Document No. 8 which contains the report of the Committee. We did have in excess of 90 resolutions. Therefore, because of the lateness of the day, we will try to be selective and present to you what we consider in our judgment the most important of the resolutions.

The first resolution will be Emergency Resolution No. 2 which was handed out yesterday and I think that I should read the entire resolution:

> "WHEREAS right-wing provincial and municipal governments across Canada are cutting back or entirely eliminating needed social services; and
>
> "WHEREAS this concerted attack has resulted in the growing rationalization that these services are charitable and should be funded and run by volunteer agencies and community groups and not by qualified and fully trained public sector workers; and
>
> "WHEREAS some of these agencies have acted in collusion with provincial and municipal governments to eliminate public sector jobs; and

"WHEREAS volunteer labour to take away jobs from unionized employees in the private sector would not be tolerated;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that, in devising a fight-back strategy, the Canadian Labour Congress advise these volunteer agencies and community groups that labour will be prepared to withhold, if necessary, financial support from charitable organizations that persist in contracting-out jobs and services performed by public sector employees."

The Committee recommends concurrence on behalf of the Committee, and I so move, seconded by W. Majesky, Committee Secretary.

MS. J. RICE (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 603): I rise to speak in support of the Committee's recommendation of concurrence. I would like to say first off that I am not speaking against the United Way, and that is not the intent of this resolution. I know that there have been a lot of conversations and a lot of innuendo that that is what this resolution is about. It is not. There is a legitimate and a necessary role for volunteers in our society. Volunteers have evolved from the basic premise that we are our brother's keeper. A long time ago the only kind of charity that was available was the kind of charity of the lady bountiful holding her nose with one hand and handing out charity with the other. It is not what it is like now.

Over the years, volunteers have shown us that we have a social responsibility and that there are important roles for volunteers. Over the years, through social action, through education, our consciousness has been raised and we are now at the high tech of social service delivery. Those services are now performed by qualified, trained professionals. You would not expect to have a volunteer come in to some high tech jungle and work your computers but why do you expect a volunteer to come in and work with your children in group homes?

The right has decided that social services to people are a frill, that we can no longer afford it. In British Columbia, the Minister of Human Resources says that those are things that we can no longer afford in these hard times and it is the responsibility of church and community groups to pick up the slack. Churches and community groups are not the people to pick up the slack, nor are those organizations that we support through donations to the United Way, United Appeal, through whatever kind of charitable donations we make. Those are the responsibility of government. Those are the responsibility of all of us, through our tax dollars.

We heard Ed Broadbent the other day talk about those Canadians who earn in excess of half a million dollars in a year and pay no taxes. Yet we have people on unemployment insurance who are paying up to $1,000 a year in taxes. Why are those same people being asked to provide services that should be the responsibility of government? Why are our dollars going into multi-million dollar projects that only benefit limited numbers of people. People are starving, people are dying, the aged are being isolated in their apartments with no services, and the government claims that that is the responsibility of community groups and of the United Way. What kind of society are we turning into if that's what we're doing to people?

In my component last July there were 595 layoff notices served, to family support workers who do crisis intervention with abused and battered children. A child abuse awareness program, a child abuse team, in-home service workers, mental retardation co-ordinators, volunteer co-ordinators have been cut back. At the same time those services are being picked up by agencies who receive their funding through donations from working people. All that we are saying in this resolution is that that is not their responsibility, and that we must take the plunge and say: "If that continues, then we will withdraw our support." We are not going to cut off our support if it does not continue. While there are people who are unemployed, while there are people being laid-off in social service delivery, we absolutely cannot afford to continue those kind of donations. We cannot continue to give that kind of support.

It is our responsibility to ensure that those services are provided, that they are universal, that they are accessible and that they are there, and they shouldn't be provided by agencies that are supported through our dollars when the dollars that should be spent on those services are being spent on buildings and monuments. I ask your support for this resolution. The other thing that I want to mention is that in British Columbia, United Way workers are organized. We have to stop using the language of the right, we have to stop listening to their claims for privatization, deinstitutionalization and deunionization and dehumanization. We have to be socialists and we have to organize.

MR. J. SHIELDS (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 601): I also rise in support of the Committee's recommendation of concurrence in this resolution. I support this resolution in the history that we have recently experienced in British Columbia when the Social Credit government hacked and chopped social services to the old, to the poor, to women, to the ill and to almost everyone in need in our province. What that government did is probably well known to this country and certainly to everyone in this hall.

But the victims of those cuts were not just the users of those services, they are also my brothers and sisters in the BCGEU. When those programs were cut, people lost their jobs, and unfortunately one of the experiences that we had is that the Social Credit government tried to use legitimate community agencies to give credibility to their efforts to contract-out and to destroy those social services.

When we went to the member-agencies of the United Way who are taking over some of those jobs and asked them not to provide those services, we did not get a very good hearing. So, as part of our fight-back campaign, my union said that if there were agencies in the United Way campaign that persisted in the giving legitimacy to the contracting-out and the loss of jobs for BCGEU workers, that we would not support the United Way campaign next year. A shock-wave went through the United Way that perhaps hundreds of thousands of dollars would not be coming in to the coffers that would provide those services that were needed by the community. And so all of a sudden, the right wing henchman of the government started to put pressure on those agencies.

I speak not as somebody opposed to the United Way, I have been a member of the Board of Directors of the United Way for six years and a co-chairperson of the Campaign Committee in Victoria, and when I address the United Way as a trade unionist expressing our deep concern that they not participate in those campaigns, I was speaking to them as a friend and a colleague, but I was carrying a very serious message.

Contracting-out of social services and giving legitimacy to the cutbacks of social services by the provincial government crosses the line of legitimate volunteer participation. I noted with great interest that the brochure of the Labour Community Services of the Toronto Labour Council says something very profound. It says "Our involvement with the United Way is more than raising money, it includes a direct say for workers and their unions in a direction of the United Way and through our participation in the United Way we have influenced our community for the better."

Through this resolution we are intending to use that fight-back campaign to influence our community for the better. When governments contract-out those services, they are on the path of destroying them. When governments contract-out those services they are creating unemployment and adding to the misery of our communities. I ask your support for this resolution because it is absolutely critical that they get a message, that they cannot cut government agencies and turn them over to the non-governmental sector and ask government workers to dig into their pockets and support those programs.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate please signify. Opposed?

On the main motion, one of support, all those in favour please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. S. FOX (Social Action and Services Committee): The Committee received 19 resolutions dealing with pensions. We combined them into one composite resolution:

> "WHEREAS retirement brings with it a declining standard of living for most older Canadians and absolute poverty for many — especially widows; and
>
> "WHEREAS most Canadians currently over 65 rely on public pension programs for more than 70 per cent of their total income; and
>
> "WHEREAS public pension programs will continue to be the major source of income for most elderly Canadians in the foreseeable future; and
>
> "WHEREAS it is preferable to provide older Canadians with pensions rather than welfare; and
>
> "WHEREAS the spouses of C/QPP contributors are not treated equitably under these programs; and
>
> "WHEREAS some people are forced to retire due to old age and ill health before they reach age 65 when public pension benefits are currently paid;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Congress reaffirms its support for the following key reforms to our public pension program:
>
> 1. A 25 per cent increase in OAS benefits and a doubling of C/QPP benefits so that all retirees with moderate and low earnings could fully maintain their standard of living in retirement;
> 2. The equal sharing of C/QPP benefits between spouses;
> 3. An increase of GIS benefits to eliminate poverty for those whose OAS and C/QPP benefits would still be below the poverty line;
> 4. The provision of full OAS, GIS and C/QPP benefits at age 60 for those who are in fact retired due to ill health or long periods of unemployment; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress mount an education campaign with its members and with the public on the importance of these key reforms; and
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the CLC continue to press the federal government and the Government of Quebec for the implementation of these reforms."

The Committee recommends concurrence and on their behalf I so move; seconded by W. Majesky.

MR. R. GINGERICH (CBRT, Secretary-Treasurer): I rise to speak in support of the Committee's recommendation for adoption of this resolution, both in terms of speaking in favour of its specific provisions and more importantly to speak to the very important proposition which it makes that the key to solving the pension problems leading to substantial pension reforms in this country, requires drastic and quick action through the public plans, initially, primarily through the Canada and Quebec Pension Plan and through the OAS and GIS. That kind of action is required particularly for people who are already on pension, or already retired, particularly women over sixty-five, who require something more than a token $20 or $25 a month increase in the guaranteed income supplement. I will assume that there will be others who will speak to the specific details of that proposal.

We have spent the last several years in dealing with commissions, studies, meetings and conferences in an attempt to work out some consensus and some prospect for changes in our pension system. All of those, from our point of view, were aimed at substantial pension reform. Part of that process involved a great many hours of consultation, argument and sweat within the Congress, within the Pension Committee. I pay the highest tribute to Brother Bob Baldwin of the Congress staff who has really been the focus for a great deal of that work. In addition, many of the affiliates went through the same process themselves and many spent months and years in working towards that magic day when we were finally going to come to grips with pension reform in Canada. After a great deal of consultation, arguments and co-operation, and finally beating each other over the head, we arrived at a policy which this Congress presented to the Senate Committee and which I am satisfied represented the best effort that was possible for us to get. That policy was ambitious, in that we really thought there was a chance of achieving some of those things. It was definitive, it was fully supported by fact and documentation and, some of us came to believe that, at last, we were going to get a chance at doing something substantial about pension reform.

We had two major disappointments, the first one was the government's green paper on Pension Reform which was a great disappointment to many people, and secondly the Lalonde budget which produced the token increase in GIS payments and paid lip service to a couple of other issues. The point that I want to make is that we have run out of time; it is too late now to talk about, and argue about, whether we agree with this provision or that provision in detail, because we now have to do something about attempting to open that door again before it is finally closed, to somehow put ourselves back in a position where we can influence the final decision that is made about pensions. It is our last opportunity to finally do something about pension reform and the Congress has come up with an action program and I urge the delegates to get behind that program, to support this resolution and hopefully let us force the politicians, force the government into doing something meaningful in pension reform.

MR. R. NICKERSON (UAW): We have had commissions over the last three years. We have now a conference coming up where the Finance Minister will talk about pensions; we have had different provinces sitting down and reviewing pensions. The federal government has been talking and talking about changing the pension regulations and the pension for the retired citizens for this country. We, in the labour movement, in the CLC, have been talking and continually pursuing a change in pensions that is desperately needed for our retirees. Some of our affiliates have been able to supplement the old age security and CPP to get half-decent retirement incomes for our members. But I think we have to very seriously look at where we are as an organization representing the total population in Canada.

We cannot allow the federal government once again to let the pension issue slide and be buried. They are talking again about giving private industry three years to see if in fact they are going to do something about correcting the inequities in the pensions that we have in this country. They have not done it, they have no intention of doing it.

There is only one answer, and the answer lies in this paper on the policy of this Congress, by increasing old age security and by doubling CPP and by utilizing these methods for the portability of pensions. We have lost a lot of people whose plants have been bankrupt, shut down and who have not had an opportunity to have portable pensions. The answer to the reform has to be increasing those pensions for those people that are presently on retirement. We must look seriously at where we are with out senior citizens.

The government of Canada is talking about increasing pensions for our retirees $25 a month which would give them the big sum of $135 a week as an income as a single person. Anybody in this room that wants to walk into a grocery store or pay their rent on $135 a week, $500 a month is welcome to it. We cannot sit and see the government continue to ignore our senior citizens in this country. At the same time, we have the politicians who have the advantage of having $10,000 a year in expenses. Well I invite the politicians, just for one year, to try and live on $6,400, because that is what a single elderly person in this country gets today, and receives that because they receive it as a supplement to their old age security — guaranteed supplement for which they must show in fact they have no income, own no home, have no assets; and they must beg to get even the $25 they are talking about as an increase. I ask you please, seriously, do not let this federal government set aside this very serious problem while our senior citizens in fact are sitting out there and starving. Please not only support this paper but take it back to you local unions, talk to your members of parliament, let us do something for our senior citizens so that they can live in some respect in this country that they damn well deserve.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Question is being called. All those in favour of closing the debate please signify. Down. Opposed? Debate is closed. On the main motion, all those in favour of supporting the Committee. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

We are close to adjournment, I will have Sister Carr make some announcements.

MS. S. CARR (Secretary-Treasurer, CLC): We are very sorry that we do not have enough time this afternoon to present this year's Canadian Association of Labour Media Awards. However on behalf of the Executive Council the Canadian Labour Congress and of the delegates here today, I would like to offer congratulations to all the award winners. The Convention is adjourned.

The Convention adjourned at 4:55 p.m.

FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1984

CLC President Dennis McDermott called the Convention to order at 9:45 a.m.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I call on the Chairman of the Credentials Committee to make his report.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

MR. I. REILLY (Credentials Committee Chairman): The Committee would also like to express its thanks to the CLC staff who have helped us and worked very hard for long hours on this Committee: Marie-Thérèse Gloor and Noël Stoodley, Dave Wait, Allister MacCleod and Irene Irvine.

The fifth and final report of the Credentials Committee: The final numbers are:

Fraternal delegates	3
ICFTU representative	1
Congress officers	4
Representatives of affiliated organizations	101
Federations of labour	20
Labour councils	84
Locals of affiliated organizations	2,129
Directly chartered locals	17
Total registration at this Convention	delegates 2,359

On behalf of the Committee, I so move the report; seconded by Glenda Cooper, a member of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You heard the report of the Committee. All those in favour of the adoption, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

I call on Bob White to give you the program for this morning.

MR. R. WHITE (General Vice-President, CLC): There are two committees that have not had an opportunity as yet to even start to report to the Convention. We are going to start this morning with the Organization Committee and let them make a partial report to the Convention, then we will move the Energy Committee, and then to some general resolutions and then see how the time goes. We may get some of the other committees back on.

MS. K. NAYLOR (CBRT, Local 67): We were told the other day that we would have a chance to debate the Productivity Centre. In looking at what has happened the last couple of years it seems to be the only thing the CLC has done and it goes against our previous policy. So I hope that you are going to live up to your promise that we will have our chance today to debate this.

MR. WHITE (General Vice-President, CLC): I just gave you the rundown on the committees and I said, depending on the time, we would put some other committees on. If the committee that has resolutions on the Productivity Centre gets back on, then you will get a chance to debate it.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): The other day, when the report was being given and the question was asked, you gave the understanding that this would come on the floor of the Convention.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Do not put words in my mouth. The question I got was: "Do we, by adopting this report, endorse the Productivity Centre?" And I said, "no". You will have an opportunity to get at it later on under another report.

MS. P. MORTON (CUPE, Local 2111): There was a second question asked and that question was: "Will we then have an opportunity to debate it at a later time?" And the answer to that was "yes". And now the leadership is saying "maybe and maybe not".

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The answer is still "yes".

Injured Workers' Day

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): One year ago today, more than 2,000 injured workers took their anger and concern over treatment by employers and government and the Workmen's Compensation Board to the steps of the Ontario Legislature: a big demonstration. That action has served to focus national media attention on the plight of hundreds of thousands of workers injured or diseased on the job every year. And the Association of Injured Worker Groups has called today, June 1, and every June 1, to be proclaimed "injured workers' day". While this move is an important step in building public awareness of the difficult problems faced by injured workers, it is also a gesture and opportunity to remember those who have lost their lives on the job site. So we are being asked to observe today one minute's silence in memory of our departed sisters and brothers who have died on the job or as a result of the job. I ask the Convention to please stand for one minute's silence.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Thank you. I now call on the Chairperson of the Committee on Organization.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): You will be dealing with Document No. 3 which deals with the resolutions found on pages 10 to 18.

We had one resolution that we had to refer: Resolution 27 dealt with affiliates that were operating under imposed sanctions and the Resolveds were suggesting certain remedies that would require constitutional changes. Therefore, that resolution was referred to the appropriate committee.

Our first item of business is Resolution O-1, O-15 and O-22, containing relatively the same subject matter, and your Committee has drafted a substitute resolution covering those three resolutions:

> "WHEREAS the plight of unemployed workers in Canada is of alarming proportions with no immediate relief in sight; and
>
> "WHEREAS the need for concerted action by the trade union movement is a serious first priority;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that all affiliates of the Canadian Labour Congress make as a collective bargaining priority, employer-paid retraining programs to enhance the possibility of achieving new jobs;
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Congress, the federations of labour and local labour councils continue and expand their efforts on behalf of the unemployed by seeking protective legislation and lobbying on behalf of the unemployed;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress build effective grassroots coalitions of unions, the unemployed, churches, the women's movement, among other groups, to fight for jobs and the rights of the unemployed;

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Congress work closely with its federations of labour, labour councils and affiliated unions to ensure the implementation of the above program."

Your Committee recommends concurrence on this substitute resolution, and I so move, seconded by the Secretary of the Committee, R. Bezo.

MR. R. MacDONALD (USWA, Local 6500): A point concerning Document No. 8 last night, the report on Social Action and Service Committee: In the first paragraph, it talks about "recommend concurrence with S-13, S-46 and S-78, and the point of clarification I would like is that those three resolutions specifically deal with reductions in the pension age below 65, and it says "concurrence with them". And yet, the recommendation that was passed by the members here, talks only about a reduction at age 60, for purposes of illness or unemployment. But these resolutions specifically refer to reductions in the eligibility for pension age; two are for 60 and one is for 55. What I cannot understand — I hope you can clarify it for me — I thought the intent of this resolution was to cover all of them, but yet it does not refer to that. It only talks about a reduction at age 60 specifically for illness or unemployment.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Chairman of the Committee.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): The brother is asking for a clarifiction of something that happened last night, and the only way you can get that clarification is from the Chairman of that Committee that reported last night.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): If there is any inconsistency, we will get at it.

MR. R. MacDONALD (USWA, Local 6500): Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right.

MR. L. RUFFO (Print-Media Union of Alberta, Local 36): I rise in support of the Committee's recommendation, though I have a couple of questions. The second Resolve says, "by seeking protective legislation and lobbying". Of course, I always believed that that is the role of the Canadian Labour Congress, federations and councils too: Lobbying the federal, provincial and municipal governments, to get this legislation, to protect working people and society in general. The third Resolve talks about the "coalitions of groups," but it does not mention anything about independent unions. I would like the Committee, if they are prepared, to make any statement or comment in regard to the third Resolve if it means also independent unions.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Yes, we are talking about, when we say "among other groups," we are talking about all groups that are concerned and all groups should be concerned with the unemployment situation. We are asking for a coalition of them all to fight towards the purpose of the resolution.

MR. L. RUFO (PMUA, Local 36): So, in this case, that means the Canadian Labour Congress is going to work shoulder to shoulder with independent unions also? That, I am in favour with.

MR. R. SEXSMITH (London and District Labour Council): I rise in support of the Committee's recommendation. After 22 years, I am now one of those who are about to join the unemployed, as my plant is closed. I think it is about time that we did begin to form some of these coalitions. We have to understand, in forming the coalitions and trying to mobilize some of those union activists who are now unemployed, that there is going to be a real problem here, because a lot of our members who have been employed for a number of years, find it very difficult to accept the fact that they are unemployed. And when we start placing them in the retraining programs and all the other things that go on at the community level, I think we have to impress upon the municipal officials from the local labour councils the importance of their involvement. To that end, the Labour Council in London has already started that process and I think a lot of other labour councils are going to have to take a serious look at their efforts in organizing the unemployed.

MR. C. PASCUSSI (PSAC-CEIU, Local 543): Just as an aside before I get into this particular resolution, I think, Mr. Chairman, that regardless of how we feel on certain subject matter which is questioned at the Convention, I do not think it is necessary for the Chair to be derogatory about people who want to clarify things that the Chair said before.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You just keep that up and you will find out just how.

Let me just make an appeal to this Convention after the great solidarity that we displayed this week, there is what I perceive to be a calculated attempt for this Convention to adjourn on a note of discord. I would suggest to you that we maintain the solidarity, get on with the business, quit the nit-picking.

MS. J. DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): I think you have got a point on mike 1, Brother McDermott.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Mike 1.

MR. C. PASCUSSI (PSAC-CEIU, Local 543): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I said as an aside, I made that comment. I wish to speak on the resolution.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Oh, I am sorry.

MR. C. PASCUSSI (PSAC-CEIU, Local 543): Okay, I think there is always room for some dissent and we should allow that in a free democratic convention.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): And free and democratic means that the majority prevail, not the minority.

MR. C. PASCUSSI (PSAC-CEIU, Local 543): I think in general this resolution is good because it establishes certain principles which are extremely important. The one element which I want to focus on is the question of organizing the unemployed. Sometimes I think that when we talk of the unemployed, at this particular convention, we are only talking about the unionists who are unemployed. I think we have to also focus on those who are not unionized and who are unemployed. That brings up the whole issue of what kind of rights they should have and how they should be organized.

We have to face the reality that, in many of our communities, there is a debate on who should organize the unemployed, whether it should be the labour councils or whether it should be the unemployed themselves. I think that we have to address that particular issue, because one of the resolutions that was proposed is Resolution O-22, and that deals with direct chartering of unions of unemployed workers, and that is not addressed in the general resolution or substitute resolution that has been proposed. So I just want to point out to the delegates that, in terms of getting to the community level, the grassroots rank-and-file level, that we have to be also concerned about the whole issue of organizing the unemployed who are not members of the unions. Because if recovery comes, and we have not shown that we care about them, then they will not conceive of us as friends and we will not be able to build coalitions with them later on. So it is extremely important that, when the delegates go back to their communities, they deal with that issue and allow unemployed people whoa re not members of the unions to get involved in labour councils, to be able to represent those unemployed.

MS. J. DARCY (CUPE, Local 1582): I would like to speak in support of the resolution, but also to raise some similar concerns. I think what is very good about this resolution is that it does say very clearly that unemployment has to be the major priority for the entire labour movement, both those who are presently employed as well as those who are now out of work, and I hope we really do make that commitment to go back to our federations of labour, our labour councils and all of our affiliated unions to work with the unemployed, as this resolution says. I think it is also very important, when it says we have to build coalitions with all those groups in the society who are affected by the economic disasters that we are presently living under and that we really do build the kind of coalitions around unemployment that our sisters and brothers in British Columbia built with Operation Solidarity and the Solidarity Coalition, because that is the kind of struggle and action it is going to take to really win jobs for the unemployed.

The resolutions that this resolution is supposed to cover, however, went further than that and I am a little confused in that the three different resolutions say something that is not included in the overall resolution. And that is the issue of the organization of the unemployed. I have no doubt that, in every region that any of us come from and every city that we live in this country, that there are organizations and committees and unions of the unemployed. In Ontario there are several, ten or twelve. There are committees and unemployed unions who have organized marches for jobs on Ottawa already; there are committees that have organized protests against exploitative companies like Job Market that charge exhorbitant fees for the unemployed just to come in to look at their job listings: There are committees of the unemployed that have organized self-help centres across the country; there are those who have organized soup kitchens.

We really have taken our hats off to the unemployed who do not have the resources of the labour movement to build effective organizations like that. But we have to go further than taking our hats off to that. I hope that what this resolution means is that when we go back to all of those areas that we come from, that we are going to do what Resolutions O-1, O-15 and O-22 said that we should do, which is to involve the unemployed in our own organizations, to allow them to speak and to take part in our federations of labour and our labour councils. I hope it means that we are going to give sustaining donations to unions of the unemployed because they are not in a position to check off dues from their union members in order to support their activities. They are going to depend in large part on the generosity but especially the solidarity of those of us in the Canadian Labour Congress. Unfortunately, I think it is a bit late in this Convention to refer something back to the Committee. I hope that the feeling of this Convention is clear, that we should be fully supporting unions of the unemployed and working with them on the terms that they suggest.

MS. P. SANDERSON (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 1203): I rise in support of this resolution. I would like to tell you of the B.C. experience with the coalition. It was great and I wonder how many of you watched the film on those things that happened in British Columbia, when the assault on us was frontal and easy to identify. I want to talk about the coalition, which at all times is extremely fragile, and about what happens after the frontal assault. When they move in and decide they are going to kill us with the death of a thousand knives and little by little, they do it. We have to be mindful of the fact that the attack is no longer frontal, it now becomes very subtle and that coalitions are fragile, extremely fragile and they need nurturing. We need to get together, it is true, but we also need to be mindful of each other's preoccupations and each other's particular interests and we need leaders that not only lead but that also mould. One thing that I did notice in the coalitions and those people who are unemployed — when you are out canvassing for the party of your choice, and we all know which party it is — it is extremely difficult to get those people to realize that they do have power and their power is very simple: it is with a pencil at the ballot box, voting for the right party.

MR. V. BJARNASON (UE Executive): We have been discussing and the papers have reflected the fact that unemployment is now somewhere in the neighbourhood of two million workers. Unfortunately, we have to admit, and it is recognized, that this is not just one of those other economic downturns or cycles. We are in a period of structural depression for which there is no end in sight. With the onset and the escalation of technological change, it looks as though mass growing unemployment has become a permanent feature of our western society. As such, we have to tackle it as a labour movement as one of the most critical areas for work.

When you have two million unemployed with all of their families involved, you have a tremendous force for positive or negative advance. Do not let anybody think that the employers, the media, the big corporations and the government are not intent upon using the misfortunes, the desperation of the unemployed against the labour movement, if they can. And we have seen the beginning here and there of the unemployed, through desperation, becoming scabs, and we must not allow the unemployed, through no fault of their own, to be turned against the labour movement. The best way to ensure that they become part and reinforce the struggles of those of us still working is to do our part in helping to organize the unemployed in an effective way, united with the organized trade union movement. It is not in the best interest of the trade union movement to see fragmented small groups of unemployed independent of the trade union movement doing their own thing. And that will happen unless the trade union movement asserts its leadership role and looks after not only its brothers and sisters but all of the unemployed, whether they were organized or unorganized. What we have to do, in implementing this resolution, is to call upon all of the affiliates of the Congress to assist in organizing their own unemployed members and then making sure that they participate in labour councils, to organize all unemployed unions in each labour council area. From there to do it provincially and federally to have a national union of unemployed, affiliated to and participating in the Canadian Labour Congress. In Ontario, we have made the beginning and we have the Ontario Union of Unemployed formed by the Ontario Federation of Labour.

During the last great depression, it took some five years before the unemployed felt their collective strength sufficient to get going to organize and to begin a march on Ottawa which, as you all know, the RCMP clubbed to death in Regina. Nevertheless, it was part of the struggle that gave birth to the industrial unions of Canada and the United States, which was part of the birth of the Canadian Labour Congress. We must see that this tremendous reserve of working class strength of the unemployed is co-ordinated with, is joined with, affiliated with, and given voice in labour councils, federations of labour and the CLC, so that united, we cannot only service the welfare problems of the unemployed, the housing, the unemployment insurance and all the rest, but that we mobilize them into a massive campaign to win jobs and turn this economy around and put labour's alternative economic program into effect.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed? Debate will cease. On the main motion. All those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolution O-2 deals with the matter of concessions, a two-tier bargaining and profit sharing. It also calls upon the Congress to develop a wide public campaign exposing those encroachments and to encourage co-ordinated bargaining. Resolution No. O-2:

"WHEREAS large corporations and their governments have foisted a depression on the working class to boost their profits and raise a 'reserve army' of unemployed; and

"WHEREAS they have used this crisis to not only cut wages and social legislation, but also to introduce and press for a myriad of phony schemes and gimmicks to further rob workers and try to divide, weaken and destroy unions; and

"WHEREAS while many unions in Canada have had to make some concessions, most have fought hard against major concessions and phony gimmicks like profit-sharing and two-tier wage structures;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Fifteenth Convention go on record as:

1. Opposing all phony corporation gimmicks like two-tier bargaining and profit-sharing;

2. Instructing Congress Executive to develop a wide public campaign exposing these phony gimmicks, and to encourage co-ordinated bargaining in each economic sector to maximize pressure for good bargaining settlements."

On behalf of the Committee, I recommend concurrence, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

MR. R. SAARINEN (President, Canadian Council, ATU): It seems like an appropriate time for me to thank all of the affiliates who assisted me when I was negotiating with Greyhound Lines of Canada. Greyhound attempted to impose a two-tier wage system on our Canadian members. We were successful in resisting this and our success was due in no small part to the support we gathered from all of the federations of labour and the municipal labour councils. I would like to thank the brothers and sisters. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The occasion that the brother is talking about is a good example of where they got badly infected down in the United States, but we did not permit the disease to carry over the border here. Anybody else?

If not, all those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolution O-3 deals with wage cuts and lower living standards and calls for a rededication of Congress efforts. The Committee feels the resolution as presented could be misleading, therefore your Committee has drafted an amended version to read as follows:

> "WHEREAS Canadian workers have suffered wage cuts and lower living standards through wage controls and restraint programs; and
>
> "WHEREAS despite the virtually unanimous commitment to 'no concessions' by affiliates, many unions were forced to grant concessions; and
>
> "WHEREAS experience has shown that granting concessions produced no jobs, but only more profits;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention reconfirm and rededicate ourselves to the all-out struggle:
>
> 1. On the collective bargaining front: to regain lost wages by winning highest possible wage increases and granting no concessions;
>
> 2. On the political action front: to launch massive campaigns to pressure governments to end restraint programs and adopt labour's alternative program;
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Congress leadership lend all possible assistance requested, in co-ordinating and mobilizing support for such campaigns on both the bargaining and legislative fronts."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

MR. J. NICHOL (UFAWU, Local 7): This resolution I think says it all. In my opinion, it is the very guts of this Convention and I certainly agree with your assessment of this Convention. I think that it has been a positive one and a constructive one for labour, but I think that we have to understand that there is going to have to be tremendous mobilization around the kind of thing that this resolution calls for. There are resolutions in the book, and I do not know whether we are going to get to them in the short time that is available to us today, but certainly resolutions that are calling for unity, resolutions that are calling for the establishment of a national solidarity campaign so that the labour movement right across this country is fighting back on the matter of concessions, the attempts by governments to destroy the labour movement and to in fact protect the welfare and whatever of our membership. Much is said here of the B.C. experience. There was tremendous mobilization and organization, a tremendous fightback organized in British Columbia on the so-called restraint program of the Bennett government. It was not a restraint program at all, it was a vendetta, it was vengeance against the enemies of the Social Credit government, and their aim is to destroy the labour movement. There were a number of unions that were in a position to take legal strike action. If the solidarity program had escalated, I do not doubt that there would have been a general strike in the province of British Columbia.

Gerry Stoney told the Convention the other day of all of the events that led up to the agreement that called off that possibility of a general strike. In the aftermath of that, notwithstanding the agreement that was made, the $18 million that was saved in the education budget was not returned to the education system. The new *Human Rights Act* guts human rights legislation in British Columbia, destroys the Commission, destroys any possibility that there will be boards of inquiry that are going to deal in a meaningful way with human rights issues in the province of British Columbia. That legislation has now been enacted. There are other double-crosses by the Bennett government on the matters that were agreed to, double-cross after double-cross until now we have Bill 28 enacted into legislation which takes apart the Labour Code of B.C. that was brought in by the New Democratic Party government and was generally recognized as being the most progressive labour statute in the North American continent.

We talk about organizing and we talk about bargaining, but the Labour Code now makes it virtually impossible; in the very least very, very difficult to organize new units. Now, to organize, every application for certification is going to require a vote, the employer has the right to intervene, to communicate with his employees, and the experience in jurisdictions where votes are taken on applications for certification shows that the employer is able to gerrymander that, the government is able to gerrymander it, and if they do not want you to organize, then they will ensure that you do not.

Operation Solidarity, the walk-off from the jobs when 50,000 people congregated in Empire Stadium is now illegal under that legislation. Forty-five per cent of the people in a workplace or a bargaining unit can now apply for decertification and a vote is immediately ordered. That is the kind of thing that we have out of some kind of a compact that has made in British Columbia, and I submit that this resolution is calling for that kind of political action that is the only way that the labour movement is going to be able to fight back, fight back meaningfully in all of those jurisdictions that try to copy the Bennett government, and the only way that we are ever going to go ahead and progress as a labour movement.

MR. E. HALPIN (UAW, Local 2168): In his opening remarks the other day, Dennis McDermott mentioned about the battle and how we are all scarred and all the rest of it. It reminds me of a fight that I saw when I came to Canada first from Ireland, and Yvon Durrell, a Canadian fighter, he was fighting against Archie Moore. And Archie was almost on the floor in the early rounds, Yvon Durrell threw everything at him. He hit him with everything he had, but Archie did not go down and somewhere between the 11th and 13th round, Moore, after standing in his corner having taken everything that the other fellow had to throw at him, came back. Durrell did not win the fight. We are between that 11th and 13th round and we are standing. And, it is what you do between rounds that really counts. Moore stood there and he had been hammered, he had been given every blow possible and he still stood up and came back and knocked the other guy down. I submit to you that that is what we can do in the labour movement. You know, to do that, he had to have a lot of heart; and I would suggest that the heart of the labour movement is sitting right here in this room.

This labour movement, this Canadian Labour Congress is something like two million members strong, and this heart, when you go back from this Convention can pump the blood, and do it through education. We do not just get up and urge adoption of papers at the CLC Convention and think that that is the end of it. Our task is just beginning when this Convention ends. We took the CLC documents from the last Convention, the economic paper and the Statement on Concessions and we run them through all our UAW education programs. And that is where you really get the meat of the resolutions pumped back. You know the song "Solidarity Forever," says "when the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run" we can go back and pump the policies of the CLC through the veins of our members and we can survive, and we can emulate Archie Moore, we can throw that knock-out punch. I urge all of the delegates to this Convention to do just that. I have been in B.C., I was fortunate enough last year to teach in a couple of courses out there, and it is a great feeling to see them out there. I know that the B.C. people will be back and they will knock that Social Credit government right out of power.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion, all those in favour of the Committee's recommendation. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolutions O-4, O-8, O-12 and O-26 contain relatively the same subject matter, increasing infringements on the right to free collective bargaining and the right to strike. Your Committee has therefore drafted a substitute resolution to cover those resolutions:

> "WHEREAS the right to collective bargaining with the right to strike is under attack by a right-wing government, and business interests; and
>
> "WHEREAS these attacks include wage controls, essential services acts, compulsory arbitration and strike-breaking back-to-work legislation; and
>
> "WHEREAS unions are facing further threats of legislation that would give governments power to decertify legitimate trade unions; and
>
> "WHEREAS federal and provincial governments have the ultimate right under legislation to implement fines and jail sentences, thereby exerting their will against the democratic rights of workers and their unions; and
>
> "WHEREAS these attacks can only be effective if many people, including union members, are made aware of the importance of the right to strike as a basic democratic right and as a means to protect workers' wages and benefits and extend workers' rights; and
>
> "WHEREAS delegates to the 1980 and 1982 Canadian Labour Conventions instructed the Congress to launch a public campaign supporting free collective bargaining with the right to utilize full economic sanctions; and
>
> "WHEREAS the need for a Canada-wide public campaign is greater then ever before;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Congress launch a national public campaign to promote the importance of full and unfettered collective bargaining."

Your Committee recommends concurrence and on behalf of them, I so move, seconded by the Secretary, R. Bezo.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is one of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolution O-5 deals with support for the concept or purchasing Canadian union-made products and services.

Resolution No. O-5:

> "WHEREAS the number of foreign-made products on the Canadian market is on the increase, contributing to high levels of unemployment;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress Union Label Department mount a vigorous campaign to promote buy 'union-made' goods in Canada."

Your Committee is recommending concurrence and on their behalf, I so move, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolutions O-6 and O-11 cover the same subject matter. Your Committee has combined the two resolutions with a minor amendment to read as follows:

> "WHEREAS workers are increasingly being confronted with intransigent employers who are attempting to eliminate previously-won rights; and
>
> "WHEREAS the strike weapon remains the workers' most basic means to press for improvements in working conditions and living standards, and to act as a defence against attacks by employers; and
>
> "WHEREAS active support for workers on strike must be central to the priorities of the entire labour movement;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress continue to promote and assist the creation of strike support committees in all labour councils across the country."

Your Committee is recommending concurrence. On their behalf, I so move, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrmce. All those in favour. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolution O-7 calls upon the Congress to lower its standards in the establishment of labour councils in small communities. Your Committee is convinced that this question has to be left to the Officers of the Congress to judge on the merits of granting charters where the viability of a council is in question.

Your Committee is recommending therefore non-concurrence in Resolution O-7:

> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress drop the quota of 2,000 members (to form a labour council) to 1,000 members for remote areas, where the driving distance is 100 kilometres or more to a major centre."

On behalf of the Committee, I move non-concurrence, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is now one of non-concurrence. All those in favour of the Committee recommendation, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Resolutions O-9, O-20, O-24, O-29 and O-31 cover relatively the same subject matter. Your Committee has drafted a substitute resolution:

> "WHEREAS the words and actions of governments and employers in recent months indicate they are determined to destroy unions; and
>
> "WHEREAS it is increasingly evident that if labour is to maintain and improve the standards of living of Canadian workers and their families, maximum labour unity is essential; and
>
> "WHEREAS the actions of the International Building Trades Unions in absconding from the Congress and attempting to build a competing labour central is retrograde and damaging to labour's efforts in improving standards and protecting labour's hard-won gains;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Officers of the Canadian Labour Congress continue and increase their efforts towards trade union unity."

Your Committee is recommending concurrence on this resolution matter covering O-9, O-20, O-24, O-29 and O-31. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

MR. R. POIRIER (QFL Construction, Secretary): At its founding convention on April 16, 1981, the QFL — Construction and its affiliates, after hearing your comments, thought that a Canadian building trades body was in the offing. This body was essential and necessary according to us to counter-balance the arguments and propaganda of international building trade unions. At previous union meetings, our members had already expressed their wish for such a body and, at long last, we thought we would be able to announce to them that, thanks to your support, this was now possible and feasible. We were then at the eve of the raiding campaign of the fall of 1981. We went before our members and received the support of 46 per cent of all construction workers in Quebec. Of course, we had to explain to them that they should not expect miracles; the short lapse of time between the raiding campaign and the setting up of a structure for CLC building trades department would prevent us from offering all we had planned for 1983. I must explain to you that, in Quebec, there are five groups representing construction workers and that it takes an absolute majority of 50 per cent to enable an association to negotiate and sign a collective agreement; without that 50 per cent, it requires a regrouping of associations.

With the raiding campaign over, it is with the backing of 46 per cent of the building trades' workers that we came to the Fourteenth Biennial Convention of the CLC with the resolutions that you know. We had every reason to hope that the Convention would match its actions to its words. Instead of taking a clear and specific stand against the suspended international building trades unions, the Convention preferred to stick to a resolution of principle, vague and without any specific objective. We came back from Winnipeg empty-handed. For our members awaiting our return, the 1982 negotiations were in the offing. However, at the time, it was impossible to reach an understanding for negotiations with other unions; the Minister of Labour extended the decree for a period of two years and we were forced by law to hold another raiding campaign in 1983. We have just finished going through it. We were alone without any active Canadian body through which we could steer towards cities in need of construction workers and where our workers would have been welcomed by building trades unions affiliated to the federation of labour of that province.

By definition, the construction worker is mobile. He goes from one building site to another, from one employer to another; if, perchance, he hears of work outside his province, he wants the guarantee that he has an even chance of getting it. Needless to say that, as expected, the international unions did not dally, nor did they alter their strategy. Blackmail, threats, trusteeships, suspended pension fund payments, disrupted union meetings, the whole kit. They started by attacking local unions. Three unions crumpled under the threats of repression, bringing along with them hundreds of workers into a rival association. Thousands of workers were individually told that they could no longer work outside Quebec; many others were told that they could no longer work in Quebec. This is the kind of "medicine" we had to take.

Returning to the resolution, I find that the Whereases and the Resolved have little in common, nor has the resolution anything in common with the November 16, 1983, letter you sent to Executive Council members and ranking officers of affiliated organizations in which you denounce the machinations of international building trades unions. Therefore, I believe that the CLC must reinforce its position against these unions so that, at long last, we may set up building trades departments, which will never function as they should if the CLC does not show firm determination.

MR. A. KUBE (President, B.C. Federation of Labour): I recognize the problem of Quebec delegates but I think that we have to understand that things are different in other parts of Canada. In British Columbia, we are working very hard to bring the building trades back into the fold of the Canadian Labour Congress. As a matter of fact, the Carpenters' Provincial Council in B.C. has decided to affiliate to the CLC. There most likely will be an affiliation from the Labourers' union in British Columbia and, piece by piece, these organizations will come back in again. I think that, if the delegates have a problem in Quebec, then you should deal with the Quebec question separately and not create a situation where it is extremely hard in the other provinces to get the building trades back in.

The building trades unions in B.C. are running their own show and there is very little dictation from the internationals. They do their own negotiations, they do their own fighting, but they are affiliated to their internationals through tradition. And sometimes you have to respect tradition, too, even though there might be some problems with it. I think that, if that thing is referred back, as the Committee recommends, to the officers, the officers are going to be able to deal on a case-to-case basis with that particular question, like I hope they will deal with all non-affiliates of the Canadian Labour Congress. I think that if you expel the building trades, all you are really doing is making it much tougher for the local unions in the building trades who wanted to become part of the Canadian Labour Congress, who want to play a full and effective role in this labour movement, and so therefore I hope the delegates will support the recommendation of the Committee.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed? Debate is closed.

On the main motion, all those in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried and so ordered.

Let me by way of an explanation simply say that Art Kube is right, the building trades thing comes up in a different fashion, in a different scenario in different parts of the country. We wanted at first to duplicate what they did in Quebec. The only problem with that is that the building trades members themselves did not respond to it, did not respond as well in Ontario, and almost did not respond at all anywhere else. They are now saying that, despite what their international union says or does, they as Canadian provincial sections want to come back into the Canadian Labour Congress and we are going to take a good look at that one.

MR. J. RIVARD (General director, FTQ Construction): I just want to make a comment about the brothers and sisters here who ended debate so early.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You cannot do that, Jean-Paul. We have taken the vote on the motion. All right. Chairman of the Committee.

MR. J. BUCHANAN (Organization Committee Chairman): Thank you. Fellow delegates, you have before you emergency resolution No. 1 from the Organization Committee. We will deal with that one now:

> "WHEREAS the employees of Canada Trust in Cambridge, Ontario, have been on strike since March 22, 1984; and
>
> "WHEREAS Canada Trust has refused to meet and bargain in good faith with the union; and
>
> "WHEREAS Canada Trust has yet to make a monetary offer of any kind to its part-time employees and has offered some of its full-time employees no wage increases at all, even though its pre-tax profits increased by 111 per cent last year;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that all affiliated local unions, national and international unions, labour councils and federations of labour immediately boycott Canada Trust and withdraw all of their funds, including pension funds, from Canada Trust;
>
> "BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that all affiliated local unions, national and international unions, labour councils and federations of labour urge their respective membership and employees to boycott Canada Trust and withdraw any funds."

On behalf of the Committee, I so move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary R. Bezo.

MR. C. NELSON (BFCSD, Local 304): We are the union that represents the employees of Canada Trust in Preston as well as in St. Catharines, Ont., and, on their behalf, I would like to thank both the Executive Council and the Chairman of the Committee for bringing this to the floor.

As in any financial institution bargaining, where you have a small branch organized and you are bargaining with a giant, the bargaining power of those people is small. The only way for us as a union and as a movement to make headway with respect to bargaining in the financial community is for us to put the pressure that we have in finances to bear aginst those companies. Similar to the J.P. Stevens boycott in the United States which finally got contracts in that industry, if we are to make headway in the financial sector, we in the labour community have to use the pension funds that we have, use the financial clout that we have, to put some bargaining power in the bargaining committees that represent these workers.

Let me tell you something about Canada Trust. Last year, they improved their pre-tax profits by over 111 per cent. During the same time, they reduced the wages and benefit package to their employees by 2.5 per cent. They did it by the use of something they call a merit system. They increase people's hours, they did not increase their pay. Interestingly enough, that merit system, when applied to the top 29 executives, gave them increases of over 30 per cent, increases that average $28,000 a year. This company has offered no union security, it has offered no seniority rights, they insist on the right to lay off whoever they please, and they have offered no benefits to their part-time employees. The women at this branch have been on strike now for just about three months, so far to no avail. We have had a great deal of help in Ontario from the Ontario Federation and from 59 affiliated locals that have sent support and urged their members to boycott, but the way we are going to be successful here is to bring the pressure of the pension funds and the union funds to bear. There is a lot of money out there in pension funds. It is the largest source of private capital in this country, and we negotiate to set up those funds and if we can bring them to bear, we will get a decent contract from a financial institution. If we manage to do that, then, perhaps we can begin as a movement to successfully organize in the banking field instead of being marched backwards by the employers.

MR. W. CLARK (President, TWU): I would like to meet that brother from mike 4 at the back of the room, because we are in negotiations with Canada Trust next week to renegotiate a custodial arrangement as a substantial account, and we are going to give it our best shot on their behalf. So I endorse this proposition.

I have listened this week to the people talking about alternative economic policies in the unemployment, I think that they are not unrelated to this problem that we have here. From 1972 to 1975 in the province of British Columbia, Dave Barrett tried to get ordinary people and organized labour to talk about new strategies for investing our own money, and people did not pay attention to him. The problem with all of this, I think, is that we working people give all of these people all of our disposable income to do whatever they like with; and the only debate that ever takes place is whether the rate of return on our money is going to be 12 per cent or 14 per cent, and as they move our money around, we just lose jobs. It has now come full circle. Yesterday, J. C. Kerkhoff in the province of British Columbia got another bloody contract at B.C. Place and the B.C. Central Credit Union is tied into that, giving our money to the worst non-union contractor in the province of British Columbia. We are going to support the Canada Trust employees to the best of our ability.

Without getting up to the mike again, I would like to ask that this Convention and the Executive Council send a telegram to the B.C. and Yukon Building Trades people in British Columbia giving them the support of this Convention because they are in one hell of a fight with J. C. Kerkhoff.

MS. L. SINGLER (NUPGE-NSGEA, Local 20): I rise to support the delegate who worked so hard to get this resolution on the floor and I think it is very important that the delegates in this hall understand what is happening with the resolution and not just pass it too quickly. This resolution is going to be asking the delegates in this hall to do some leg work when they get back home. I have some experience in knowing what it is like to organize bank workers, and it is not an easy job. I think, like the brother who has asked for the help of the delegates from this hall in supporting those women who have been on strike for three months, that it is vitally important that we no longer pay lip service to organizing the unorganized and that we give our full endorsation and all our commitment when we get back home. These are very small groups of employees and when they take on the multi-million dollar barons who hold our money in their vaults, we have got to be there to support them.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You know, the proposition is a very simple one, because it is hard enough to organize bank workers, but after you get them organized, then the bank shuts the door on you and you are not able to do anything with that certificate except suffer a lot of frustration. Now, there is one thing that is for sure: the bankers have a straight line from their heart to their pocket book, and if you can get in there and squeeze it, and we can, then they understand that message and that will be real material support to the people concerned.

MR. J. McNAMEE (BFCSD, Local 304): I would like to thank you for those remarks. You hit the problem dead on the head. You have got 20 people in the bank branch fighting a company that is God knows how rich. But what I really wanted to do is support Sister Singler in asking the delegates here to pay close attention to the "Resolves" of this resolution. They ask us to do something: to go to Canada Trust to pull our money out and make it clear to that company that they cannot treat people the way they are. It has got to be a signal to the entire financial sector that the trade union movement will not stand for the continual tactics that we have had to put up with. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Okay. Ready to vote? On the emergency resolution, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

Let us go back and put it to work.

ENERGY POLICY COMMITTEE

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Document No. 6 is the Report of the Energy Policy Committee, and we are dealing with Resolutions En-1 to En-16.

We are not presenting you with a comprehensive policy statement at this time, because the Convention passed one four years ago and we feel it stands us in good stead to this day. The main resolutions that have been submitted and that are not covered by that policy statement likely are those dealing with coal. We will therefore deal with the first resolution, En-1, slightly amended:

> "WHEREAS Canada presently imports 16 million tons a year of American coal with a sulphur content approximately eight times that of coal found in Western Canada; and
>
> "WHEREAS this coal is imported at a cost to the economy of one billion dollars purchase price, 30 thousand lost jobs and substantial damage to environment from increased acid rain;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the federal government take what steps are necessary to encouage Canadian provinces and industry to increase their use of Canadian coal to decrease the damage to the environment from acid rain and for the creation of jobs in the Canadian mining and transportation industry."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary of the Committee, L. Stevens.

Might I first of all explain that Brother M. Tamtom, President of the United Mine Workers, District 18, called a conference in Calgary some months ago, and this resolution has come about as a participation of the United Mine Workers, Steelworkers, the Canadian Labour Congress, our union and a few others. The Mine Workers should be commended for the conference they had at that time.

MR. G. YETMAN (President, N.S. Federation of Labour): I want to say something about this resolution from the east. This comes from District 18 and I want to say to this Convention why there is no large number of delegates here from the United Mine Workers of District 26. I told you the other day where some of the people who should have been supporting solidarity were, when another group was raiding the United Mine Workers in Nova Scotia. In the second raid in less than a year by the CCU on the United Mine Workers, with the united support of the Canadian Labour Congress, the Nova Scotia Federation of Labour and the Cape Breton District Labour Council, we were able to beat down those two raids and the United Mine Workers are in the House of Labour where they should be and where they have been for the last 60 some years.

The UMW have been in the forefront. For 38 of the last 40 years, they have had a Social Democrat from our part of Canada from the mines representing us in the House of Commons. And the great Clarie Gillis fought from 1940 to 1958 for a national energy program, a national energy policy which is the program and the policy of this Congress. I suggest to this Convention that that is more important today than it ever was, because if we are ever going to get justice for coal or anything else, that national energy policy is a must.

In the east, where we are selling every pound of coal we mine, our problem is that our coal mines belong to the federal government and I need not tell this Convention why the Liberals have a crown corporation that runs the mines. The Liberal government and the Conservative government never believed in public ownership and we are not able to get the money we need. When the mines in the east were under private ownership, when Dosco and Hawker Siddley had them, money was no problem at all. Whenever they wanted money, they called Ottawa. They had subsidies, they had subventions, they had gifts, they had grants, they had loans. When the coal mines were under private ownership, money was no problem. Now that they are under public ownership, you cannot get the money. But we are going to continue the fight to stay under public ownership, and to keep pushing them, and I hope this Congress will do the same. You came to the support of the miners in their struggle, when we asked reasonably for some support. I am happy to report that the Minister was in Nova Scotia last week while we were here, and announced $300 million.

I need not tell you that recently we had a fire in the mine, where a few years ago 15 lives were lost. I doubt if that mine will ever open again. So that put another 1,500 coal miners, plus the lost jobs in the industry, on the unemployment rolls, in an area where unemployment is already 40 per cent. So I need not tell you what it did to the economy and what it did to that area.

The recent announcement is that we are going to open another one. My only remarks to the press in the east was: "I hope they will do it immediately and that it is not an election ploy." And it looks like that we may have some hope in that regard.

There were two members here, even though the times are tough in District 26, with those two raids and they are under administration. Jake Campbell and Gordie Ledoux, the President and Secretary are here somewhere in this Convention, I am sure there will be more next time because they will be in a better position.

I told my brothers from District 18 that we used to have their markets. There are over 20 million tons of coal coming from the United States to Canada. I said to the miners when that fight was on that it would be much easier, if you stayed in the international and if there was some agreement that could be worked out, where we could get some of their markets back, rather than be an independent union; that would be going nowhere and we would not be in the main stream. I am happy to say that that was another point that helped to keep them in the House of Labour. When we had export markets from the east, we had ships, that used to bring the coal up, we had our shipyward workers and you heard Brother Bell talk about that the other day. It is all tied in and it is all tied into making a better life for the people that we are privileged to represent and the social justice. I am happy to support this, and we in the east support our brothers in the west and I ask you to support this resolution.

MR. C. CONNORS (UMWA, Local 7292): As Brother Yetman explained, they import approximately 20 million tons of coal per year from the United States. The sulphur content in that coal is approximately eight per cent, which is part of our acid rain problem in this country. The sulphur content of our coal is approximately only one-half of one per cent, which alleviates some of that problem.

I would like to talk on the jobs that this resolution will create, not only jobs in the coal industry but jobs in the transportation industry, communications and manufacturing and service and supply. This could create approximately 30,000 jobs for our Canadian brothers and sisters. Just one more note that I would like to touch on: this convention is always talking bout "buy Canadian," so I say let us buy Canadian and include coal along with everything else.

MR. K. NEWMAN (USWA): I represent some workers we presently have in the coal mining industry. I also attended that conference that was recently held in Calgary. We had the NDP caucus there; and we were asking for support for the utilization of coal from Canada to solve the problems of acid rain in eastern Canada. The government of the United States and also the government here in Canada have not taken it upon themselves to say that we are going to clean up. The labour movement has to take that forefront position and ask that we utilize a coal which is much cleaner than that presently being imported from the United States. So I ask the delegates to support the resolution and let us get on with the job of cleaning up the environment and creating the jobs that we need in this country.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the recommendation of the Committee, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Mr. Chairman, we will now go to Resolution No. En-15.

MR. N. WARNER (CUPE, Local 82): I would like a personal privilege. It was in the paper yesterday that Eugene Whelan said that the people in South Africa were not intelligent because they did not wear any hats. I want to go on record to say that he does not represent the working class people in the City of Windsor, that he will be defeated in the next election by Steve Langdon who knows what goes on in Africa, and I want that on record please.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Okay back to Resolution No. En-15;

> "WHEREAS Canada presently imports approximately 16 million tons of high sulphur American coal worth nearly one billion dollars to our balance of payments; and
>
> "WHEREAS the replacement of that American coal with Canadian coal would provide thousands of jobs for Canadians in mining, transportation, plus many more thousands of spin-off jobs as well as a significant reduction in the levels of sulphur emissions that create acid rain in Canada;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that a joint federal/provincial task force be created to study in public hearing:
>
> 1. The relative direct cost of Canadian and American coal to consumers;
>
> 2. Difference in transportation costs;
>
> 3. Direct and indirect costs to the economy of high levels of acid rain;
>
> 4. The cost and benefits to the entire Canadian economy of a federally funded transportation subsidy to encourage the use of Canadian coal."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary L. Stevens.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour of the Committee's recommendation, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Our next resolution is En-2, also submitted by the United Mine Workers:

> "WHEREAS foreign importers of Canadian coal presently import coal from various sources and custom-blend the coal to meet the needs of specific industries; and
>
> "WHEREAS Canadian coal users presently often purchase their coal requirements from mines with specific coal types in

the United States rather than blending from various sources to meet their needs; and

"WHEREAS present Canadian coal sources offer wide variey of coal which could be blended to satisfy all present Canadian coal requirements;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian government conduct a study of the possibility of creating a coal-blending industry in Thunder Bay to meet the specific coal demands of both Eastern Canadian and European markets."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary L. Stevens.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): I might explain that a coal-blending industry in Thunder Bay would not cost very much to implement. What is required, I believe, is various grades of coal going on a barge; it could be done at the same time, when the barges are loaded for shipping. This would upgrade the blend of coal and make it available in the form that the purchasers in Europe want.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): That deals with the resolutions on coal. We will now go to the Resolution No. En-12 dealing with the Columbia River Treaty:

"WHEREAS the Columbia River Treaty as it exists is a complete sellout to the U.S.A. of B.C. power resources; and

"WHEREAS the Treaty can be opened for renegotiation in 1985;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress urge the Canadian and B.C. governments to take the necessary steps to renegotiate the Columbia River Treaty to provide more favourable terms and conditions for Canada and British Columbia."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary L. Stevens.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Our next resolution is No. 10, submitted by the British Columbia Federation of Labour. It deals with Petro Canada. We have amended it. Resolution No. En-10, amended.

"BE IT RESOLVED that this 15th Biennial Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress demand the federal government redefine the role of Petro Canada from that of support agency for the multinationals to an aggressive instrument for petroleum exploration and development in competition with or instead of the multinationals; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Petro Canada supplant the defaulting multinationals and become, along with provincial crown corporations, the exclusive developer of the tar sands resources."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence in the amended resolution, seconded by the Secretary L. Stevens.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is one of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. N. REIMER (Energy Policy Committee Chairman): Resolution No. En-11, submitted by the United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union, Local 1-99 has also been amended. Resolution En-11, amended:

"WHEREAS the oil industry proposes drilling on the B.C. coast, a highly sensitive environmental area; and

"WHEREAS Canada has enough gas and oil available for the foreseeable future and the Canadian taxpayers have already funded the technology needed to produce this oil; and

"WHEREAS the federal government may be lifting the moratorium on drilling for oil without having first investigated any adverse consequences to the environment and economy to workers and residents on the west coast;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this 15th Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress continue to oppose all offshore oil drilling on the B.C. coast until a full, public hearing on the social, economic and environmental impact of such drilling is held."

On behalf of the Committee, I move concurrence, seconded by the Secretary L. Stevens.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried.

At this point, I think I will ask the Energy Committee to step down and we will get the General Resolutions Committee up front.

MR. W. MASSEY (ACTRA): A point of information, please, brother Chairman. Will the Legislation Committee's report be coming back to the floor for further attention by the members here?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): If we have time, yes.

MR. W. MASSEY (ACTRA): Okay. When will that likely to be?

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I do not know. I am in the hands of the Convention.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): Before we return to the Document No. 2, the Report of the General Resolutions Committee, we have been asked to try and get an emergency resolution from the Executive Council through the Convention on the matter of the importance of passing the amendments to the Canada Labour Code. We have, as individuals, sent letters to the government and the opposition members. I would like the Secretary to read the emergency resolution, get it endorsed by this convention and get a telex to the official opposition and the members of the government.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Thank you. Emergency Resolution:

"WHEREAS Bill C-34 (amended Canada Labour Code), was introduced in the House of Commons on May 15, 1984; and

"WHEREAS the NDP have consistently supported the adoption of this health and safety legislation before the end of the session; and

"WHEREAS the Government and the Official Opposition have failed to promote the passage of this legislation before the end of the session;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the 15th Biennial CLC Convention call upon the Official Opposition and the Government to give the health and safety of Canadian workers the highest priority and commit themselves to adopt Bill C-34 before the summer recess."

The Committee moves concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, duly seconded by R. White.

MS. M. MULLALLY (BRAC, Local 2306): I rise to urge you to pass this emergency resolution unanimously. A number of CLC committees have been lobbying for the passage of this legislation for literally years. A number of delegates at this Convention will recall attending a CLC Health and Safety Conference in Ottawa in November 1981, at which time federal MPs were vigorously lobbied to bring about changes in health and safety. These changes to the Canada Labour Code have just been introduced. Similar lobbies were carried out by the CLC to bring about changes to parts of the bill that deal with technology, as well as other changes to Part V and Part III of the Code. Now it would not be too presumptuous, delegates, to pretend that if this bill passes, health and safety provisions will be extended to those involved in the operating of aircraft, in the operation of pipelines under the National Energy Board and petroleum explorations and development. As well, health and safety provisions will be extended to the public service of Canada. This bill had its first reading in the federal Parliament on May 15 of this year. Since that time, it has not gone to committee nor has the NDP House Leader been able to convince the Liberals and the Tories to make it a priority, to put it on the House agenda so that it can pass prior to the summer recess, which we understand is June 19 or thereabouts. This information we have as of 5 p.m. last evening.

Now there are a number of delegates at this Convention who believe that the only reason the Liberals brought in this legislation at all was to hold out a carrot to labour. The feeling is that the Liberals have no intention of passing the legislation prior to the proroguing in the House, and certainly the Tories have no interest in seeing it passed. It is far too radical for them. The belief is that the Liberals have used the bill to entice labour to vote Liberal in an upcoming election, this summer or later in the fall, after which time they would see to the passage of the bill. But you and I know that if the bill is not passed prior to this summer recess, it will die on the order book. I therefore urge you not only to pass this resolution, this emergency resolution which is so vital, but to lobby your federal MPs through your union locals and through your labour councils to urgently pass this legislation within the next two weeks.

MR. P. GAUTHIER (CALFAA, Local 22): What this bill means to us is that for the first time in our lives we, at CALFAA, will have the right to refuse to work in unsafe environments. We have been waiting for this right for 20 years; we cannot wait any longer.

To the brother who was worried earlier this week that such a right could allow workers to overstep their jurisdiction, let me say this: some of the most important safety laws are not — and I repeat — are not enforced. This affects my safety and therefore it affects your safety. What this bill means to us is that for the first time, our health and safety committees will have legal support. What this bill means to us is that we will have the right to decide for ourselves on matters pertaining to our safety.

Right now the company and the pilots are deciding on that, not us, and we are the ones who are facing those hazards. We have been given the responsibility of your safety and yet we are not legally allowed to decide for ourselves on our own safety.

When you return home, call your MPs or send a telegram and tell them that they will lose your vote if they do not support this bill. They should anyway if they are not NDP. Mind you, if you have the luck of being represented by an NDP member, like I do, still call in and thank him or her for their continued fight for the workers of this country. There are only three weeks left, before the House adjourns. This is an urgent matter. We must act now. Help us protect ourselves, help us protect all workers in this country.

MR. R. NICHOL (CALFAA, Local 17): It is urgent that we pass this unanimously. After 20 years of lobbying it is finally going to happen that our right to be covered under health and safety legislation is going to be recognized. It is really important that we make sure that the Liberals do not make our health and safety a chip in the next election. Health and safety is not something to be jockeyed around and we really urge you to support us. I want to thank the NDP and the CLC for bringing this forward as much as they have. I just want to give you one example of why this is so important for me, as a flight attendant and for the members I represent.

Recently this winter, on an international flight to Honolulu from Vancouver, there was severe turbulence, the plane dropped a considerable distance. The passengers all had their seat belts on but the flight attendants were still busy out there serving drinks or checking on things that they were to do. The companies get so worried about pushing their products that they are not worried about their employees, and we really need this legislation to give us the right to refuse to do work when it is not safe.

Further, it is going to force the companies to meet us when there have been unsafe incidents. The companies refused to meet with the proper union safety representatives on this matter. In this particular case, there was a flight attendant unconscious in the alley with broken bottles all around her. Now the companies and the government have to recognize their responsibility in this area.

I ask us to collectively lobby to get this legislation through and I ask, I urge you, individually — you are all well aware of how important health and safety legislation is, — please when you get home tomorrow or tonight, telex your MP, ask him to support this bill. I cannot thank the people who have worked for this enough for our 6,000 members; continue to fight, I saw a little kid on the street today with a T-shirt that said he belonged to the team that does not give up. Let us not give up. As Brother Mercier said the other day, it is not everything we want but let us establish a principle, and please, let us keep on fighting after this has been passed, let us fight for more.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

On the main motion of the emergency resolution, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): We are now back on Document No. 2. The Secretary of the Committee will start off where we left off with Resolution G-4.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-4 is amended and shown in Document 2. The Committee is recommending concurrence as amended:

> "WHEREAS Canadian Labour Congress printed material would be more widely distributed and more effective if it were printed in the English and French languages; and
>
> "WHEREAS many affiliated locals and labour councils have French-speaking members;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress print and distribute major material such as buttons and literature on special campaigns in both official languages."

On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White, recommended concurrence in the resolutions as amended.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): The only reason we made any change was, if you look in the resolution book, the resolution was mandating the Ontario Federation of Labour and obviously the people really meant the Canadian Labour Congress.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is one of concurrence, as amended. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-5. We are going back to page 2 of the resolutions book now. Resolution G-5:

> "WHEREAS privatization of the sale of liquor will increase the access of minors to alcohol; and
>
> "WHEREAS such privatization will create serious enforcement problems at a time when the problem of minors and alcohol seem to be re-emerging; and
>
> "WHEREAS the result will either be additional costs to the consumer or reduced tax revenue to the provinces, neither of which is desirable; and
>
> "WHEREAS privatization will lead to a great increase in outlets and accordingly, a greater increase in alcoholism; and
>
> "WHEREAS privatization will lead to increased unemployment;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress through the federations of labour, lobby provincial

governments to vigorously oppose the privatization of liquor sales."

The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by a member of the Committee.

MR. D. BARNETT (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 501): Now, they have formed a committee in British Columbia to look into the privatization of liquor. It is a political and tactical question in British Columbia. In 1977, we came very close to a strike and we were going to close down the liquor stores of British Columbia and keep the rest of the public sector covered by the B.C. Government Employees Union working; therefore, cutting off the $990 million revenue that goes into the coffers of the government, and causing a revenue/expense gap for the government paying the other people that would be working. In 1982, we had a strike in British Columbia where we did close down the liquor stores in many sections of the government service. In 1983, we had another strike where we closed down most of the government services in British Columbia covered by the B.C. Government Employees' Union. It was a tough strike, a strike that we won.

What they have done since 1983 is form a committee which will report back to the Minister of Consumer and Corporate Affairs making recommendations on the privatization of liquor by the end of June. Behind the political question, the question that the government of British Columbia is trying to answer now is how are they going to turn the gold mine of the liquor industry over to the private sector, to the right-wing political wolves that want to get a piece of the action? By turning the liquor industry of British Columbia over to the private sector they believe they will have no more liquor disputes. One of the things that probably the people of Canada and definitely the people of British Columbia, do not realize, is that by turning the liquor industry to the private sector, the cost will not go down. The distribution costs of liquor will increase, the federal or provincial governments will take no cuts, so you will see the price of liquor go up.

In British Columbia, in 1986, we are going to have a world class fair, so the government tells us, and they are predicting upwards of 35 million people coming to B.C. What they are going to be saying at the end of June probably is that they are going to take the liquor industry and turn it over to the private sector because the public sector cannot handle it, they cannot handle the amount of people that will be coming to British Columbia. What the government of B.C. is trying to do is trying to push the product alcohol, they are trying to turn Expo '86 into a national drunk, and they are trying to bust our union, that is the bottom line of what they are doing in British Columbia.

In Quebec where our brothers and sisters have been fighting the privatization of liquor, the government has said they were trying to do it through co-ops. That is just another subtle way of union-busting. They also are trying to Americanize the sale of liquor. Here in Canada, we have a social structure which the United States is probably about 50 years behind. What keeps that social structure in place, a big part of it, is a revenue that is brought to the government through the sales of liquor. I suggest that with the Americanization of liquor and the loss of revenue to the government, we will see part of our social programs cut.

In British Columbia, we have 235,000 people on unemployment insurance, we have 245,000 on welfare. If there is a privatization of liquor in British Columbia, and our province could probably lose revenue through doing that, how will these programs be supported? I think the scenario in British Columbia, if they privatize liquor, what they will eventually do, is say the alcohol-abuse programs are no longer the responsibility of the government, they are the responsibility of the private sector, and I think you will see the government try to get out of those programs also. The bottom line of the privatization of liquor is nothing more than trying to bust unions, that is what is going on.

MR. D. ANDERSON (NUPGE-AUPE, Local 11002): The resolution looks to be one of motherhood and apple pie and a lot of rhetoric that the trade union movement is well known for. However, I would like the delegates to pay particular attention to this resolution, as there is a national movement on behalf of the right-wing governments in our country to force the privatization of liquor sales on the public.

I would like to properly categorize what is going on here. First of all, it is not the privatization of liquor sales. It is pirating, and that is exactly what is going on across this country. It scares me, that the effect of what the government of Alberta is doing and some of the other provinces, is effectively putting people out of work and is destroying the unions. This form of privatization is becoming increasingly popular within right-wing governments and also with the public.

The Alberta Conservative government is using every tool possible to manipulate public opinion in favour of privatization. The issue first arose at the provincial Conservative convention early last year. Next a private member's bill appeared on the floor of the Legislature calling for the privatization of beer and wine. Following this, the Alberta Liquor Control Board decreased the number of store hours and started closing stores on Mondays. At the same time, the Alberta Liquor Control Board fired 900 casual employees that were just recently covered by the collective agreement. This has effectively crippled the service that was supplied by the Alberta Liquor Control Board. The sales of these products and the service provided by the government stores has been drastically affected. The following week, petitions appeared in most major food chain stores and convenience stores asking for the privatization of beer and wine. The coincidence and the sequence of these events is a blatant attempt on behalf of the Alberta government to manipulate public opinion. This government, however, is introducing this under the auspices of job-creation. This is not going to create jobs in the private sector. It is going to make the distribution of beer and wine and other alcohol products so diverse throughout the cities and the major centres that it is not going to create any jobs. I want this Congress to make a strong statement to all of the provincial governments with regard to privatization of liquor sales.

Further to that, it is going to decrease the number of public sector workers, increase the number of unemployed and increase the competition amongst the unemployed for those few jobs that are available out there at the present time.

Coming with the privatization of beer, wine and alcohol is the increased accessibility of alcohol to minors. There is also the increased accessibility of alcohol to those persons that are already intoxicated. Under the current system, accessibility is not a profit motive for the people who sell the liquor. The profit motive will come into play once the pirates gets their hands on the sale of beer and liquor.

Also privatization will mean a decrease in revenue for provincial governments. This revenue is going to have to be regenerated. Now, I am not interested in an increase in my personal taxes and the business community is not interested in increases in their taxes simply to provide the privatization of beer and wine.

Each of us will have to address the social value of the problems that accompany the privatization of liquor sales, and, if the problem is accessibility, I think that that position should be put to the government of Alberta or the governments across this country. At the present time, liquor board workers in the province of Quebec are struggling for survival and the survival of their union. I would ask those people who live in Quebec and those people who are here in Montreal to stop using the private liquor stores and use the provincial liquor stores and the provincial liquor outlets.

Last Sunday, a meeting of the senior officials of the unions across Canada met to form a coalition, and this is not the last that you are going to hear of us. At some time in the future we may have to consider taking job action to fight privatization, and I hope the Canadian Labour Congress and the delegates at this Convention will help.

MR. J. LANGLEY (NUPGE-BCGEU, Local 300): I represent brewery workers, winery workers and distillery workers in British

Columbia and, since 1980, we have been affiliated to NUPGE. In 1980, when we became an affiliate of NUPGE, there were a lot of eyebrows raised both within the trade union movement and elsewhere, but certainly the Socred government took note. It had not liked this new solidarity between the people that produce the liquor and the people that distribute the liquor. Bill Bennett talks about the new reality. Bill Bennett's new reality is taking decent union jobs with decent union benefits and moving them over to the private sector, moving them to jobs at minimum wage, $3.00 an hour jobs. That is Bill Bennett's new reality.

With respect to privatization, the distribution costs of beer are going to increase. The industry has already informed us of that. We have been told they will need new trucks, a whole new fleet. I am telling you and you had better remember it, those costs are going to be passed on to you, the consumers. They are not going to be absorbed by the industry, they will be passed on and they will be taken out of the pocket books of other working people and other people throughout British Columbia, throughout Canada. Privatization is a farce, privatization is right-wing rhetoric, and it is blatant union-busting. I urge you all to make sure that you realize that and make sure you pass it on to your members. Let us get together in solidarity on this thing, let us beat the union-busting bastards into the ground.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed?

On the main motion, all those in favour of the resolution, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

That is a big consumer constituency that we have out there, a very serious problem.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution No. G-6:

> "WHEREAS the provincial and federal governments will soon have to reach an agreement on the offshore talks; and
>
> "WHEREAS this settlement will mean a great deal of employment for the people of Newfoundland and all of Canada;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention press both governments to take immediate steps to resolve this stalemate in the offshore talks."

The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White a member of the Committee.

MR. J. BELL (N.S. Federation of Labour): I rise to speak in support of this resolution. At the present, there has been a lot of publicity that the economic problems of the east coast have been solved by the fact that we have the Iberia oil field and the Venture gas field. Like so many of Canadians who witnessed the development of oil in Alberta, with the opening of the Leduc field back in the early 1940s, I can recall the same type of optimism and propaganda that was put out that now we are set for all times, our fortunes were made. Well this has not proven out and it is not proving out down east. In the North Sea, where the development is taking place there are two experiences. One, by the British in Aberdeen, and those communities adjacent to the oil field, and those in Norway which also is developing that same field. And the results of the two, in the two countries, are extremely different, simply because of the fact that Great Britain, under the Tory administration has allowed the private enterprise sector to take complete control of that energy development to the detriment of the people of that particular country. The cost-of-living has gone up in those communities, there has been high inflation in housing and there has been a lot of unemployed people who have not been able to get trained for those jobs simply because of the fact that the oil interests have a mobility of workers which they have on hand, that they bring from different parts of the world to these various types of fields and employ very little locally.

It is true, that in the province of Newfoundland, at least Premier Peckford did put the heat on the oil companies, insisting that they employ a fair number of local people, and that has given some employment to the people of Newfoundland. In Nova Scotia, very little of that has been experienced. There is also the question of what do we get from the results of these oil development explorations, oil and gas development explorations? What do we get from energy development in Canada as a whole?

Well, if we had an industrial strategy plan in Canada, when Churchill Falls was developed, we would have had industry located adjacent to Churchill Falls and Canadians could have been put to work utilizing that electrical energy. When James Bay was developed, we could have had the same type of industrial strategy, that industry could have been located there and we could have had some benefit from that energy.

Because we are tied up in continentalism, whereby the Americans say that you are the providers to us of the natural goods and resources and energy, we manufacture that to the detriment of Canadian national interests. And that is exactly what is going to happen with our natural gas right now in Nova Scotia. Right now, the government is telling us that they have buyers down in New Jersey and Rhode Island who will buy our natural gas. They are talking now as low as $1.57 per thousand cubic feet. That becomes a subsidized price. So therefore the government will build the pipelines and the people of Nova Scotia will pay for that pipeline on an ongoing basis; the gas will come ashore; it will be committed to Rhode Island and New Jersey and it will provide jobs there; but we will pay for that and it will be a subsidized price that will not even meet the actual production price.

That is the type of thing that we are running into. In the same way Smallwood and even Premier Moores, following him, sold, for 65 years, the power of Churchill Falls for three mills a kilowatt/hour, while we, in other parts of the Atlantic provinces, pay as high as ten cents a kilowatt/hour, some 30 times more. We do not get the benefit of our energy, we never have and never will, unless we take an interest in it and push for the utilization of it for our own good.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion of concurrence, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution No. G-7:

> "WHEREAS the United States federal government is in the process of voting for funds to complete the Lone Tree Reservoir in North Dakota; and
>
> "WHEREAS the completion of this Garrison Diversion project will allow the transfer of Missouri water to the Hudson Bay Basin; and
>
> "WHEREAS this transfer will change the water quality and quantity in Manitoba and will also allow the transfer of biota to the Hudson Bay system;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress undertake a major effort with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and other employee groups in the United States, to prevent the completion of water transfer components of the proposed Garrison Diversion."

The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White.

MR. G. DOER (NUPGE-MGEA, Local 507): I am pleased to see that we have got this resolution on the floor. I am also pleased that, last week at our National Union Convention, we had a unanimous endorsation for this resolution. The one million Manitobans need help. We are facing the whole United States government that has been using very basic bully-boy tactics in terms of our water by diverting unilaterally water from the Missouri River Basin north through the Hudson's Bay River system. The results of this unilateral diversion of water will mean that the commercial and tourist fishing industry in Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario will die as we know it.

There will be 600 per cent increase in the silt content in the agricultural areas in Manitoba, and there will be tremendous increases in the cost of water in many Manitoba communities. The former Secretary of the Interior, James Watt, does not give a damn about environmental concerns in United States, let alone Canada, and the United States Republican Senate and the U.S. administration has just been proceeding on a unilateral basis against the International Joint Commission Treaty.

In the last four years, we have been able to turn around the United States Congress, so they are no longer voting money to have water diverted through the Canadian water system. We need help from our brothers and sisters in the AFL-CIO to turn around the U.S. Senate. We are now 16 votes short in the United States, and we do not feel that many of the senators realize the Canadian concerns, the Manitoba northwestern concerns in terms of the environmental impact of the Garrison Diversion program.

The other area we need help in, of course, is if we can get the defeat of Ronald Reagan in the next presidential election through our brothers and sisters in the United States. Fritz Mondale has already gone on record as opposing Garrison Diversion as it is presently constituted.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): On the motion of concurrence, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): We will deal with Resolution G-9, which covers Resolution G-8. Resolution G-9:

> "WHEREAS the federal government has in the past, and likely will in the future, awarded Ontario and Quebec the majority of Supply and Service contracts; and
>
> "WHEREAS a fairer distribution of these contracts, particularly those ocean-related, would reduce high unemployment in the Atlantic region; and
>
> "WHEREAS a fairer distribution would benefit many others in spin-off benefits, etc.;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress request the federal government to give special consideration to the Atlantic provinces in future when Supply and Service contracts are awarded."

The Committee recommends concurrence in the resolution covering G-8. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White. Carried.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-10

> "WHEREAS there are numerous chemicals being used as additives or preservatives in food processing; and
>
> "WHEREAS no one knows how these chemicals can affect the metabolism of the body system or their ill effects;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress press for legislation which would adequately control food additives."

The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, duly seconded by R. White.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-12, as amended:

> "WHEREAS airlines have been deliberately transferring their reservations and ticketing work to travel agencies; and
>
> "WHEREAS the vast majority of travel agencies are unorganized; and
>
> "WHEREAS this results in an erosion of job security for organized airline workers;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Canadian Labour Congress make its travel arrangements and purchase its tickets only through unionized air travel outlets, whenever possible, and urge its affiliates to do likewise."

The Committee recommends concurrence and on behalf of the Committee, I so move, duly seconded by R. White.

MS. C. MICKLEWRIGHT (BRAC, Local 1820): I rise to support of this motion. I would like to ask every delegate who travelled to this Convention to pull your airline ticket out of your pocket and stand up if you bought it from the unionized outlet. Because I will bet that the majority of you did not. In this country, most of the travel agents are not unionized. In British Columbia, there is only one travel agency that is unionized and that belongs to our union, BRAC. This resolution has been passed by our union at the B.C. Federation of Labour convention and it was passed by CALEA at the Quebec Federation convention.

It is a very important issue because through the electronics that now exists in our society, employers are transferring work to non-union agencies. It is becoming a very insidious method of busting unions. Every time you go into a travel agency and they have a computer terminal sitting on their desk to make a reservation, they are taking work away from our bargaining unit. They are not calling our members on the telephone lines to make reservations. We are losing that work and in our own bargaining unit, we have 300 out of 1600 members laid off. Technological change, which is part and parcel of this issue, is allowing employers to contract this work out.

I urge the delegates that the next time you buy a ticket to travel anywhere, that you buy that ticket at an airport where you will be getting unionized services from the airline employees or that you buy it from a ticket office by one of the airlines. Do not go to travel agencies, unless you are going to get together and help us organize the travel agencies.

MR. P. STIER (Secretary-Treasurer, CALFAA): I would like to add to this resolution that all delegates from now on purchase all tickets from the airline counters or from the unionized travel agencies. The travel bureau of the International Transport Workers' Federation has endorsed a similar resolution, as organizing of travel agencies has become more and more difficult through computerization. However, the point I want to make, in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in CALEA, is that airlines also force cabin crew members now to sell tickets on board the aircraft. Do not purchase tickets on board the aircraft. Go to the counter, go to the unionized travel agencies and do not force us to go against our brothers and sisters. We do not want to sell tickets on board the aircraft. Support this resolution.

MS. S. WOWK (SEIU, Local 323): I would like at this time to make something clear to your people. I support this resolution totally. I have been arguing this with unionists, trade unionists for a number of years. I always get the argument that the airlines cannot provide the service, they cannot book hotels, they cannot book cars; that is not true. The agencies do it using Air Canada computers. Air Canada, CP Air, the organized airlines can all provide the same services. So forget about that excuse. Deal directly with the organized airlines.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): All right. On the motion, all those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-15, which covers Resolutions G-13:

> "WHEREAS if the Province of British Columbia is to have forests for the future generations, there will have to be far more intensive reforestation and silviculture practices followed than have been carried out in the past; and

"WHEREAS the provincial government drastically curtailed the inadequate amount of reforestation they were doing; and

"WHEREAS a proper reforestation program should provide steady year-round work for a stable workforce;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress:

1. Demand that the provincial and federal governments accept their responsibilities and embark on a comprehensive and adequate reforestation and silviculture program;

2. Demand that the holders of tree farm licences and the Department of Forestry do their own reforestation and silviculture work with an aim to providing steady year-round employment, instead of issuing short-term contracts or participating in ill-conceived, inadequately paid short-term programs, such as EBAP."

EBAP is a federal government reforestation program in British Columbia. The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence. All those in favour, please signify. Down. Opposed. The motion is carried.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-16:

"WHEREAS members who are contemplating standing for office should be aware and in agreement with the policies that, if elected, they will be responsible to implement; and

"WHEREAS in choosing their elected Officers, delegates are entitled to know the positions of candidates on issues before the Convention; and

"WHEREAS at past Canadian Labour Congress conventions, only a small percentage of resolutions had been discussed before the election of Officers; and

"WHEREAS there is also no specific time allocated at conventions for candidates to explain their positions and objectives in seeking office;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that at each Convention an 'all candidates meeting' be organized at which each candidate will present her/his platform, to be followed by an open question period as an extension of the agenda; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that guest speakers be allowed only a limited time to speak so that business can be conducted quickly."

The Committee recommends non-concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is non-concurrence.

MR. D. GAGNON (PSAC-PCC, Local 10120): While I do not concur with the Committee's recommendation, I have no intention of opening up a long debate on this. I find that the whereases really set the tone. This week, we spent ten hours or so listening to addresses by various speakers. With all due respect to them, the fact remains that we had important matters to attend to and a great number of resolutions to be dealt with. There were also elections to choose the officers who are to lead the Congress for the next two years. I believe that, in line with democratic principles, it becomes more and more important that candidates be given the opportunity to speak to delegates so that we may get to know who is most qualified to represent us at the level of the Canadian Labour Congress for the next two years. I find that this resolution makes good sense. I think that it is feasible to have it both ways. If ten hours or so were amputated from the presentation and discussion periods, in all likelihood it would then be possible to hear our future CLC leaders.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Chairman of the Committee.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): Well, there are really two parts to the resolution, the Committee recommends non-concurrence on both.

Obviously if some groups want to have a caucus, and we know that happens at this Convention, it does at most labour conventions, they are entitled to invite candidates and have them speak, and that happened all over this Convention, in some corners of the hall, in some other rooms. The matter of the guest speakers before this Convention: this Convention should know that there were guest speakers here from outside of this country that could not get on because we were debating the important business of this Convention. But I think there has to be some flexibility on the platform that when people, like the Native People's Association, or the Farmers' Survival Association or other important groups, are invited to this Convention, we have to take five or ten minutes to hear them. It seems to me they are very important to us, if we are talking about building coalitions in this country.

I want to question the ten hours that were taken up for guest speakers. Unless my list is incorrect, we had Ed Broadbent speak, which is normal; we had the representative of the Trades Union Congress speak to us; Howard Pawley spoke to us for about ten minutes yesterday afternoon; we had somebody from the Native People and somebody from the Farm Survival group. I do not think that is too much time to take out of this Convention. I think it is an education process. It is also important that this labour movement be seen as reaching out to others in society in dealing with other issues rather than just in terms of the issues of the labour movement.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Well, let us talk it out.

MR. W. THOMPSON (Hamilton and District Labour Council): With the greatest of respect to Brother White, I must disagree with the conclusion that the guest speakers and the use of the Convention time has been most beneficial; not only of the Convention but especially to the people that send us here.

Personally, I feel rather disappointed with this Convention and with the lack of opportunity that we have had to deal with some of the issues. I do not want to spend a great deal of time dealing on any particular issue since we are presently in the dying hour of this Convention. However, I do feel that there was a certain amount of abuse by some of the speakers. Certainly ten to fifteen minutes for a group like the Farmers' Survival group is an adequate and a necessary part of this Convention. But I do question the spectacle of wasting most of the afternoon on truly a good purpose and honouring good people, by taking almost the full business of this Convention for nearly an afternoon. This is, I believe, excessive and did lose valuable time.

To close with perhaps a small note of humour, if that is what it is, I believe that the humanitarian award of the year may very well go to the author of this resolution for the next Convention.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): The introduction to the humanitarian award went a little longer than we had anticipated, but if you look in history of that, it used only to take an hour of the Convention to pay tribute to people like Stanley Knowles or Grace MacInnis or David Lewis or Tommy Douglas, and again I think it is important that this Convention does that. Sometimes, it goes a little longer than others, as sometimes floor speakers do.

MR. J.-C. PARROT (President, CUPW): The reason I am at this mike is I think this resolution should have been looked into in the sense that, if the suggestion that is there does not satisfy the Committee, then we should have looked into an alternative to it. I remember that, after the last Convention, we ended up with over 371 resolutions, I think, that had not been dealt with by the Convention. I do not know how many this time, I have no way of knowing at this stage, but I am sure that we will still have many resolutions not dealt with at this Convention, including some very important ones. This morning, we are dealing with a lot of low-profile issues obviously, but there are still in the book very important issues to be dealt with, from the Economic Policy and other committees, that we will not deal with.

I think when we look at that, we have to look into where are our own priorities. As delegates, are we here to deal with the resolutions we receive from our affiliates, from our locals, or are we here to hear speeches? And I think we can find an alternative if we want to look into it. For example, there is nothing to prevent organizing an evening prior to the start of the Convention for guest speakers to speak for distribution of awards and things like this.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Yes, you can do the same thing for candidates, too.

MR. J.-C. PARROT (President, CUPW): And I know some will say, well the delegates will not be here. Well, it depends on the speakers you invite! They will be there if you have the speakers they want to hear. If they are not there to hear them the night before, then that means they are not interested in hearing them on the floor either.

As far as we are concerned, I am sure I can work with our delegation and our union and arrange that they arrive earlier the day before to be able to attend an evening session, before the Convention starts to hear the speakers, to make a contribution to this, by our participation. So I think that would be an alternative, instead of simply saying we cannot do anything about it. I hope we are going to look seriously into this and I hope this will be referred to the Executive Council and you are going to look into it instead of simply voting the recommendation of non-concurrence.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The resolution does not deal with the matter of whether or not we should be all resolutions, or all speakers, or a mixture of both, or a minority of one and a majority of the other. It talks about having a special arrangement for candidates. Well, I put it to you that there is no restriction on candidates. The candidates who were aspiring to office here were well known, there were buttons, there was literature, there were meetings, there were caucuses. Every time they get up to make a speech, they were in fact on a platform. And if it is okay to have an evening for guest speakers is it not okay to have an evening for candidates as well! I mean the reality is that we have to try and make this Convention as interesting as possible. Let me paint a picture for you. I think we had had a pretty exciting week. This morning has not been very exciting. What the speakers are proposing is that we have an entire week like this morning. I put it to you, that is not what we are all about, and it is totally unfair to say that you cannot have guest speakers, that they should be limited and, at the same time, talk about coalitions and building understanding among nations and so on. And all you can do is try to bring together a happy mix, have a good Convention, get speakers, have the candidates, have the competition among the candidates, give the delegates an opportunity at democracy, attempt to build solidarity, and at the dying moments of the Convention when only a minority are here, leave here in a sense of unity and purpose and not on a note of discord. That is what we are trying to do.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): I guess we can debate this until adjournment but I do think that people who get up and infer that this Convention has not really spent time on important business, either they did not attend the Convention or have not read the policy papers. We spent a lot of time at this Convention on developing policies. We spent two-and-a-half hours yesterday afternoon on international affairs; that was important. We spent a great deal of time on affirmative action and that was important. We spent a great deal of time developing a plan of action for the future, that was important to this Convention. We spent a great deal of time on policy papers. Now obviously every local union has got an important resolution. We are trying this morning to deal with the important things like privatization of the liquor industry in British Columbia. We got that on the floor this morning. Well I said if you just give me a couple of minutes, I will give my point of view.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): You have the mike. All right, mike 6, on a point of order. What is it?

MR. J.-C. PARROT (President, CUPW): My point of order is the rule of this Convention, you follow the people when they arrive at the mikes and give them the right to speak, each one in turn. And my point of order is that it is the third time that the brother speaks. Give a chance to the others to speak. We did not bring this resolution in to divide this Convention, just to indicate that the Executive Council should look into it after this Convention. That is all what we have said.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): No, we are not going to stifle debate.

MR. A. JENKYN (UE, Local 525): I rise on a point of order. I want to say, Brother Chairman, that I think that you owe an apology to the delegates that have remained at this Convention this morning. We have come to this Convention to exchange the views of those people who are the people that you claim are the battle-scarred bandaged victims of the crisis out there. And we have come here to exchange our experiences, our points of view in order to help this Congress go forward with the kind of fighting, working class policy that is required in this particular period of time. And for you to contrast the invitation of guest speakers to the debate that takes place on this Convention floor by the delegates by saying that this morning is not very interesting and that therefore you invite guest speakers to come here to make it more interesting, I think it is an insult to the working people that belong to this Congress an insult to the working people of this country. And I think, Brother McDermott, that you should stand at that podium right now and apologize to the people who elected you to the highest office of this Congress. I think they deserve it. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I apologize, okay?

MR. R. NOONAN (WCRTE, Local 1692): I think Brother White is correct that there are two quite separate issues here, and I think it is a little unfortunate that they are melded together in one resolution. But I am particularly concerned about having an "all candidates meeting". I wish you were correct in that all candidates were well known; there were a lot of buttons around but a button does not necessarily inform one what that candidate is all about. I, for one, as a first-time delegate wish that I had known more about some of the delegates to make an informed decision come election time. So I am concerned about the non-concurrence with the holding of an "all candidates meeting". It seems to me that that is a very practical and democratic way of getting candidates' views across to those who will be asked to vote for them.

MR. W. PATRICK (UAW, Local 1967): I stand here in support of having guest speakers here at this Convention. I think it is very healthy to have the resolutions in a mixture. This week, we had one very important guest speaker, Ed Broadbent. Brother Broadbent brought a message to this Convention and I feel it is very unfortunate that we did not have a copy of that speech to take back to our membership. It is okay hearing that message in these four walls here, but we should be taking that message across the whole of Canada. It was very important to hear that message and I would like the CLC to try and get a copy of that speech, because if we want a New Democratic Party in there, we have to tell our people what it is all about.

MR. P. MULVIHILL (PSAC-NC, Local 70291): I wish to speak against the Committee's recommendation for the simple reason that first of all, if they had a problem with the two different resolves, they could have split the resolution and concurred with the one that they wish to, or truly say that they had non-concurrence in both. In the second Resolve — that guest speakers be allowed only a limited time to speak — these time limits do not mean that every guest speaker will have half-an-hour or five minutes, that is up to the Executive to decide. If they wish our, hopefully, next Prime Minister of Canada to speak for half-an-hour, then that is for them to decide, and that other guest speakers be limited to five or ten or fifteen minutes. What bothers me the most is the hours of sitting, if there is a problem that we are not covering enough resolutions here, then the hours of sitting should be looked at. To start at 9:30 and have an hour and a half off to eat, that is reasonable an hour and a half. But why not start at 8:30 and then go to 5:30. We are here to do business take care of the business of all the members of our different locals; we do not sit here long enough and all these shortened hours are unacceptable. We should have longer hours of sitting.

MR. K. CLAVETTE (Ottawa and District Labour Council): I move referral back to the Committee with instructions that they investigate the problem that delegates have spoken about, and that they come back with a recommendation of concurrence to the Executive Council; seconded.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): There is a motion to refer with instructions. All those in favour of the motion to refer, please signify. Down. Opposed? I think the motion is referred.

MR. P. FORDER (UAW, Local 275): Brother Chairman, I think it is pretty obvious to the delegates here and all of those who spent five days in this Convention, a very good conference, that our ranks are thinning out at a fairly rapid pace. I think we have had stimulating debates, I think we have had some contentious issues we have resolved, and I think that all of us have helped make this labour movement much more significant and relevant. Now, I am reminded of the story about the general who got on an elevator and said take me to the 10th floor.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): Make your point, make your point.

MR. P. FORDER (UAW, Local 275): Okay, I think it is quite clear that when we are very close to having no quorum, I would like to suggest that I would move that we adjourn this Convention with the unfinished business being referred to the incoming Executive, so that in fact all delegates to this Convention can now start to depart, head back and start working on all those very valuable policies that we have in place to help build this labour movement.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): We all know that is a perfectly legitimate motion, that usually comes up about this time. You are permitted to do it, it is what you will. Is there a seconder to the motion? All right. All those in favour of adjournment, please signify by raising your right hand.

MR. H. COHEN (ATU, Local 1515): I challenge that. That motion is out of order. You cannot step up to the microphone and make a speech and discuss and then eventually make a motion of referral. He should have stood up and made the motion of referral without the speech. I therefore challenge that motion as being out of order.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): I think you are technically correct. So we will continue. Settle down. I said. Please do not leave here on a note of discord. A lot of people outside of this movement are watching us, and it would be terribly counterproductive and destructive to leave the impression that we leave here in the spirit of discord. So if you want to continue, we will continue.

MR. R. BASKEN (General Resolutions Committee Secretary): Resolution G-17:

> "WHEREAS the Quebec Federation of Labour has activated its Solidarity Investment Fund aimed at saving, maintaining and creating jobs by investing into Quebec businesses; and
>
> "WHEREAS this plan has been actively supported by the Quebec government which has awarded income tax credits and allowed shares in the fund to be held through Registered Retirement Savings Plans;
>
> "THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that in congratulating the QFL on its foresight in supporting the establishment of the Solidarity Investment Fund, the Canadian Labour Congress also investigate the possibility of establishing a similar plan at the national level."

The Committee recommends concurrence. On behalf of the Committee, I so move, seconded by R. White.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): A motion of concurrence.

MR. R. ROY (UE, Local 532): I stand against the concurrence of this motion for two main reasons. In my opinion, they are fundamental. First, I and my union refuse to participate with the bosses in their search to find ways to boost productivity that will create layoffs. Secondly, I refuse to give my money to those same bosses through a scheme that amounts to the same thing as giveaways. You know this fund was created to bail out small companies in difficulty. It does not matter if the money comes from a reduced pay cheque or from the workers' savings. It will wind up in the bosses' pocket. I cannot understand why the labour movement would want to promote a thing like that. I urge the delegates here today at this Convention to reject this motion on the basis that we do not want this great labour movement of ours to become another banking system for a boss.

MR. R. WHITE (General Resolutions Committee Chairman): Maybe I could just explain to the delegates what the Committee is really endorsing is the fact that the FTQ has taken this decision. They had to debate it. All the resolution asks us to do is investigate the possibility of this at the national level, and we are recommending concurrence in that investigation. I am sure that is not very controversial.

MR. G. DOER (NUPGE-MGEA, Local 507): The resolution asked for an investigation of the feasibility of establishing a plan at the national level. It does not call for us to establish the plan. It asks us to investigate it. I know at the Manitoba Federation of Labour, we heard a number of very positive comments on the Solidarity Fund in Quebec, and we also heard some delegates claim there were some negative aspects. We, too, are investigating that. Why should each federation across the country investigate separately whether it is a good idea or not, when this Canadian Labour Congress, as the central labour body in this country, can take a look at it, tell us the positive parts, the negative parts that we can improve upon the Quebec plan and develop a Quebec plan or not, based on the studies. So I urge the delegates to vote concurrence. I think the CLC should be doing this investigation, rather than each of us separately in our own jurisdictions and our own unions and our own locals across the country.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The question is being called. All those in favour of closing debate, please signify. Down. Opposed? The motion is carried.

MR. G. JOLLYMORE (CBRT, Local 606): Mr. Chairman, I move that this Convention now cease and that the remaining business be handed over to the Executive Board because we do not have a quorum; seconded.

CHAIRMAN (Mr. McDermott): The motion is seconded. All those in favour of the motion, please signify. Down. Opposed? The Convention stands adjourned with our thanks.

The Convention adjourned at 12:15 p.m.

COMMITTEES OF THE 15TH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

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J. Fryer, NUPGE, Chairperson
L. Laberge, QFL, Secretary
J. Munro, IWA
P. Sampson, PSAC
S. Fox, ACTWU
D. Patterson, USWA
C. Pilkey, OFL
Huguette Plamondon, UFCW

Credentials Committee
I. Reilly, UFCW, Chairperson
Lucie Nicholson, CUPE, Secretary
M. Squires, UGWA
J. MacDonald, PEI Fed. of Labour
D. Laberge, UAW
Glenda Cooper, Windsor (N.S.) and District LC

Economic Policy Committee
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Energy Policy Committee
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L. Stevens, USWA, Secretary
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E. Witthames, Molders
D. Johnston, NWT Fed. of Labour
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Nancy Bolton, ACTWU
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D. Werlin, Alberta Fed. of Labour
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Susan Giampietri, PSAC
Jean Robertson, UFCW

FRATERNAL DELEGATES — DÉLÉGUÉS FRATERNELS

American Federation of Labour — Congress of Industrial Organizations	LYNN WILLIAMS
British Trades Union Congress	ALAN SAPPER BILL WHATLEY

I.C.F.T.U. REPRESENTATIVE — REPRÉSENTANT DE LA C.I.S.L.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions	JOHN VANDERVEKEN

SEATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE V, SECTION 10 OF THE CONSTITITUTION OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

SIÉGEANT CONFORMÉMENT À L'ARTICLE V, SECTION 10 DE LA CONSTITUTION DU CONGRÈS DU TRAVAIL DU CANADA

DENNIS McDERMOTT	President
DONALD MONTGOMERY	Secretary-Treasurer
SHIRLEY G. E. CARR	Executive Vice-President
RICHARD MERCIER	Executive Vice-President

REPRESENTATIVES OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS — REPRÉSENTANTS D'ORGANISATIONS AFFILIÉES

Alliance of Canadian Television and Radio Artists Alliance des artistes canadiens de la télévision et de la radio	G. NEIL G. SPERLING
Aluminium, Brick & Glass Workers' International Union Syndicat international des ouvriers de l'aluminium, de la brique et du verre	J. GARIEPY
Amalgamated Clothing and Textiles Workers Union Travailleurs amalgamés du vêtement et du textile	C. CLARK S. FOX
Amalgamated Transit Union Syndicat uni du transport	J. H. DALEY A. McFARLANE
American Federation of Grain Millers Fédération américaine des meuniers	L. McCOMBS
Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers International Union Syndicat international des travailleurs de la boulangerie, confiserie et du tabac	A. DECESARE R. GAUVREAU
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Fraternité des préposés à l'entretien des voies	R. GAUDREAU P. A. LEGROS
Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freighthandlers, Express and Station Employees Fraternité des commis de chemin de fer, de lignes aériennes et de navigation, manutentionnaires de fret, employés de messageries et de gares	R. C. SMITH W. T. SWAIN
Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada Fraternité des wagonniers de chemins de fer des États-Unis et du Canada	S. HORODYSKI
Canadian Actors' Equity Association Association canadienne des artistes de la scène	W. MASSEY
Canadian Air Line Employees' Association Association canadienne des employés du transport aérien	P. NASH T. SAUNDERS
Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants Association Association du personnel navigant commercial des compagnies aériennes canadiennes	G. ST-ROCH P. STIER

Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers Fraternité canadienne des cheminots, employés des transports et autres ouvriers	R. A. GINGERICH J. D. HUNTER
Canadian Farmworkers' Union Syndicat canadien des ouvriers agricoles	S. BOAL R. CHOUHAN
Canadian Merchant Service Guild Guilde de la marine marchande du Canada	R. F. COOK M. SJOQUIST
Canadian Paper Workers' Union Syndicat canadien des travailleurs du papier	J. M. BUCHANAN J.A. FERLATTE
Canadian Union of Postal Workers Syndicat des postiers du Canada	B. CHEDORE J.-C. PARROT
Canadian Union of Public Employees Syndicat canadien de la Fonction publique	K. CUMMINGS J. ROSE
Canadian Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drinks and Distillery Workers Union canadienne des ouvriers unis des brasseries, farine, céréales, liqueurs douces et distilleries	W. LUMSDEN G. PLENDERLEITH
Communications, Electronic, Technical and Salaried Workers of Canada Syndicat des travailleurs en communication, électronique, électricité, techniciens et salariés du Canada	F. POMEROY R. WYATT
Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers' International Union of America Union Internationale des distillateurs d'Amérique et assimilés	R. BISSON
Energy and Chemical Workers Union Syndicat des travailleurs de l'énergie et de la chimie	C. N. REIMER R. W. STEWART
FTQ Construction	J.-P. RIVARD
Glass, Pottery, Plastics and Allied Workers' International Union Union internationale des travailleurs du verre, de la poterie, du plastique et autres	R. ARMSTRONG R. DULUDE
Grain Services Union Syndicat des services du grain	D. CLARK B. PEARSON
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union Union internationale des employés d'hôtel, restaurants et commis de bar	J. KATSOUROS J.STAMOS
International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of U.S. and Canada Alliance internationale des employés de la scène et de la télévision	A. L. COWLEY H.B. JONES
International Association of Fire Fighters Association internationale des pompiers	J. FENNEL

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers Association internationales des machinistes et des travailleurs de l'aeroastronautique	V.E. BOURGEOIS A. G. HORNBY
International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Fraternité internationale des chauffeurs et huileurs	C. BILODEAU
International Longshoremen's Association Association internationale des débardeurs	R. DESGAGNES R. GOSSELIN
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Syndicat international des débardeurs et magasiniers	M. MARINO D. LOMAS
International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union Union internationale des mouleurs et des travailleurs associés	E. WHITTHAMES
International Typographical Union Union internationale des typographes	R. EARLES R. RUDERSDORFER
International Woodworkers of America Syndicat international des travailleurs du bois d'Amérique	J.-M. BEDARD J. MUNRO
Letter Carriers' Union of Canada Union des facteurs du Canada	W. FINDLAY R. McGARRY
Marine Workers' Federation Fédération des travailleurs des chantiers et autres industries maritimes assimilées	R. CLARKE J. McLEOD
Maritime Fishermen's Union Syndicat des pêcheurs des maritimes	G. THÉRIAULT
National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians Association nationale des employés et techniciens en radiodiffusion	A. BERGERON J.-M. GILBERT
National Union of Provincial Government Employees Syndicat national de la Fonction publique provinciale	J. FRYER W. C. REID
Office and Professional Emloyees' International Union Union internationale des employés professionels et de bureau	R. CORBEIL F. TROTTER
Ontario Federation of Labour — Construction Fédération des travailleurs de l'Ontario — construction	E. BAIRDS
Public Service Alliance of Canada Alliance de la Fonction publique du Canada	G. JACOB P. SAMSON
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees Union des employés de gros, détail et de magasins à rayon	D. G. COLLINS A. SCOTT
Service Employees' International Union Union internationale des employés des services	A. GOHIER T. ROSCOE
Shipyard General Workers' Federation of British Columbia Syndicats des ouvriers de chantiers navals de Colombie-Britannique	J. FITZPATRICK G. MACPHERSON

Telecommunications Workers Union Syndicat des travailleurs en télécommunication	D. BREMNER W. CLARK
The Newspaper Guild La guilde des journalistes	L. CLIFFORD W. McLEMAN
United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union Syndicat international des travailleurs unis de l'automobile, de l'aéronautique, de l'astronautique et des instruments aratoires d'Amérique	B. HARGROVE R. WHITE
United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America Ouvriers unis de l'électricité, de la radio et de la machinerie d'Amérique	D. BARRY V. BJARNASON
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union Union internationale des travailleurs unis de l'alimentation et de commerce	F. BENN C. EVANS
United Garment Workers of America Travailleurs unis du vêtement d'Amérique	M. DUDEN M. SQUIRES
United Mine Workers of America Mineurs unis d'Amérique	M. TAMTOM
United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America Union des ouvriers unis du caoutchouc, liège, linoléum et plastique d'Amérique	L. BRUDER G. LEDUC
United Textile Workers of America Ouvriers unis des textiles d'Amérique	V. MUSTARD R. MYSLOWKA
United Transportation Union Travailleurs unis des transports	P. BURKE R. PROULX

FEDERATIONS OF LABOUR — FÉDÉRATIONS DES TRAVAILLEURS

Alberta Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de l'Alberta	H. KOSTIUK D. WERLIN
British Columbia Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de la Colombie-Britannique	M. KRAMER A. KUBE
Manitoba Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs du Manitoba	S. HART R. MARTIN
New Brunswick Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs du Nouveau-Brunswick	T. McCARTHY J. A. RICHARDSON
Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador	W. A. PARSONS
North West Territories Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs des Territoires du Nord-ouest	D. JOHNSTON T. CAHILL

Nova Scotia Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de la Nouvelle-Écosse	J. K. BELL G. YETMAN
Ontario Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de l'Ontario	T. MEAGHER C. PILKEY
Prince Edward Island Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de l'Île-du Prince-Édouard	J. MACDONALD
Fédération des travailleurs du Québec Québec Federation of Labour	F. DAOUST L. LABERGE
Saskatchewan Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs de Saskatchewan	N. HUNT C. JONES
Yukon Federation of Labour Fédération des travailleurs du Yukon	S. FREI

LABOUR COUNCILS — CONSEILS DU TRAVAIL

(Atlantic Region — Région Atlantique)

Amherst and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Amherst et de la région	S. M. MACKEY
Campbellton-Dalhousie and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Campbellton-Dalhousie et de la région	S. BECKINGHAM
Cape Breton District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Cape Breton et de la région	K. MacNEIL
Edmunston and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Edmunston et de la région	G. ARSENEAULT J. SARLABOUS
Fredericton and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Fredericton et de la région	G. McGUIRE
Halifax, Dartmouth and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Halifax, Dartmouth et de la région	J. CAINEY F. LUTLEY
Moncton and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Moncton et de la région	K. A. LEGER
Saint John District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Saint John et de la région	M. BOUCHER L. D. HANLEY
St. John's and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de St. John's et de la région	J. CUTLER
Windsor and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Windsor et de la région	G. COOPER

(Quebec Region — Région du Québec)

Conseil régional des travailleurs de l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue Regional Labour Council of the l'Abitibi-Témiscamingue	C. PROULX

Conseil régional des travailleurs de la Mauricie, Bois-Francs et de Drummondville Mauricie, Bois-Francs and Drummondville Regional Labour Council	R. CLERMONT
Conseil du travail de Montréal Montréal Labour Council	F. BOUDREAU G. COUSINEAU
Conseil du travail de l'Outaouais Québécois L'Outaouais Québécois Labour Council	L. FORTIN R. DUPUIS
Conseil du travail de Québec Québec Labour Council	C. B. ROY J. JOBIN
Conseil du travail de St-Jean et de la région St-Jean and District Labour Council	G. LACHANCE R. SAUMURE
Conseil du travail de Ste-Thérèse et de la région Ste-Thérèse and District Labour Council	M. CARRIER E. MOISAN

(Ontario Region — Région de l'Ontario)

Brampton and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Brampton et de la région	C. CREWSON T. GORMAN
Brockville and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Brockville et de la région	W. TEDFORD
Cambridge and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Cambridge et de la région	M. ORTLIEB
Chatham and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Chatham et de la région	K. SIMPSON B. ZILIO
Dryden and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Dryden et de la région	B. L. SUNI
Guelph and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Guelph et de la région	M. RAMOTAR
Hamilton and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Hamilton et de la région	W. C. THOMPSON
Kenora-Kewatin and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Kenora-Kewatin et de la région	W. JACKSON
Kingston and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Kingston et de la région	F. BELANGER
Kitchener-Waterloo and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Kitchener-Waterloo et de la région	G. LORENTZ W. SAMUELSON
London and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de London et de la région	J. PARE R. SEXSMITH

Midland and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Midland et de la région	D. LUMREE
Oakville and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Oakville et de la région	D. TREMBLAY
Oshawa and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Oshawa et de la région	W. FAIRSERVICE
Ottawa and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Ottawa et de la région	K. CLAVETTE M. HURLEY
Oxford Regional Labour Council Conseil régional du travail d'Oxford	J. DUNN J. PAWSON
Peterborough Labour Council Conseil du travail de Peterborough	R. BLACK
Quinte District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Quinte et de la région	J. BRANDSMA D. SWORD
St. Catharines and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de St. Catharines et de la région	L. HARRISON M. SCOTT
St. Thomas and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de St-Thomas et de la région	V. WARREN
Sarnia and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Sarnia et de la région	D. LAWRENCE
Sault Ste Marie and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Sault Ste Marie et de la région	F. JOLICOEUR
Stratford and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Stratford et de la région	D. HARVEY
Sudbury and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Sudbury et de la région	G. GILCHRIST E. McVEY
Thunder Bay and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Thunder Bay et de la région	J. VAN DYK
(Toronto) Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto Conseil du travail de Toronto et du métropolitain	W. MAJESKY L. TORNEY
Welland and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Welland et de la région	P. FREEMAN
Windsor (Ont.) and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Windsor (Ont.) et de la région	L. W. FAILLE G. L. PARENT

(Prairie Region — Région des Prairies)

Brandon Labour Council Conseil du travail de Brandon	R. MARTIN

Calgary Labour Council Conseil du travail de Calgary	R. MOREAU W. Y PATERSON
Edmonton and District Labour Council Conseil du travail d'Edmonton et de la région	D. ELVES E. EVASIUK
Moose Jaw and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Moose Jaw et de la région	J. SWAOK
Red Deer Labour Council Conseil du travail de Red Deer	C. LACOMBE M. NELSON
Regina and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Regina et de la région	W. SKRYPNYK H. VAN EYCK
Saskatoon and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Saskatoon et de la région	E. LOCHRIE I. NEWBOLD
Winnipeg and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Winnipeg et de la région	P. MOIST

(Pacific Region — Région du Pacifique)

Kamloops and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Kamloops et de la région	P. G. GILMAN
Nanimo-Duncan and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Nanaimo-Duncan et de la région	W. BRODRICK W. TICKSON
New Westminster and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de New Westminster et de la région	D. RICE G. STONEY
Prince George and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Prince George et de la région	C. A. DWYER
South Okanagan Boundary Labour Council Conseil du travail de South Okanagan et de la région	D. WILSON
Vancouver and District Labour Council Conseil du travail de Vancouver et de la région	C. P. NEALE
Victoria Labour Council Conseil du travail de Victoria	J. H. GROVES

REPRESENTATIVES OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
REPRÉSENTANTS D'ORGANISATIONS AFFILIÉES

Aluminium, Brick and Glass Workers' International Union
Syndicat international des ouvriers de l'aluminium, de la brique et du verre

Local	0203G,	Hamilton, Ont.	D. GIBSON
Local	0235G,	Wallaceburg, Ont.	G. WATSON
Local	0238,	Surrey, B.C.	D. YOUNG
Local	0248G,	Owen Sound, Ont.	C. POINTON
Local	0250,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. CHARBONNEAU
Local	0265,	Ville St-Pierre, P.Q.	M. SARNI

Local 0266,	Ville St-Pierre, P.Q.	S. PATERSON
Local 0295,	Scarborough, Ont.	M. STACEY

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
Travailleurs amalgamés du vêtement et du textile

Local 0115,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. MONETTE
Local 0116,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. MERCURI
Local 0209,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. DUMOULIN
Local 0210C,	Toronto, Ont.	F. AQUINO
Local 0235,	Toronto, Ont.	A. PILEGGI
Local 0236,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. ALLERUZZO
Local 0242,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. RODECK
Local 0274,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. VERRILLO
Local 0298,	Montréal, P.Q.	V. PINDER
Local 0437,	Toronto, Ont.	J. MATRAIA
Local 0459,	Winnipeg, Man.	W. HAIKO
Local 0723T,	Stoney Creek, Ont.	B. SCALES
Local 0766,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. CHRISTOS
Local 0836,	Toronto, Ont.	H. AITCHESON
Local 0858,	Montréal, P.Q.	D. MARODOZZA
Local 0862,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. DEPETRILLO
Local 0908,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. KOSHEDUB
Local 0986T,	Woodstock, Ont.	D. D'ENTREMONT
Local 0989,	Winnipeg, Man.	K. GRAHAM
Local 0998,	Winnipeg, Man.	M. RADCHENKA
Local 1003T,	Toronto, Ont.	V. CAMPBELL
Local 1084,	Montréal, P.Q.	S. RIGANTE
Local 1153T,	Hamilton, Ont.	K. BAKER
Local 1438,	Toronto, Ont.	V. SKURJAT
Local 1464,	Toronto, Ont.	G. BOUNTRIS
Local 1476,	Midland, Ont.	M. PLOUFFE
Local 1585I,	Cowansville, P.Q.	G. PICARD
Local 1591,	Don Mills, Ont.	D. MALLETT
Local 1606,	Hamilton, Ont.	J. A. POSTELETHWAITE
Local 1675,	Cornwall, Ont.	R. COLLINS
Local 1685,	Lindsay, Ont.	D. HUTCHINSON
Local 1686,	Cowansville, P.Q.	D. BRUNEAU
Local 1693,	Cowansville, P.Q.	J.-M. COUTURE
Local 1826,	London, Ont.	B. FIELD
Local 1885,	Toronto, Ont.	T. TRACEY
Local 1967,	Paris, Ont.	L. SMITH
Local 2447,	Montréal, P.Q.	B. LINHARES

Amalgamated Transit Union
Syndicat uni du transport

Local 0113,	Toronto, Ont.	J. CARRUTHERS P. CLARKE C. JOHNSON L. KINEAR P. McLAUGHLIN A. PATRICK

		D. STOKES
		B. STRINGER
		H. WARD
Local 0134,	Burnaby, B.C.	E. E. WALLACE
Local 0279,	Vanier, Ont.	M. DAVID
		R. JOLICOEUR
Local 0508,	Dartmouth, N.S.	C. D. CLANCY
Local 0569,	Edmonton, Alta.	P. HEILAND
		E. PATERSON
Local 0583,	Calgary, Alta.	P. R. BROWN
		A. G. BRUCKNER
Local 0615,	Saskatoon, Sask.	B. JOHNSON
Local 0616,	Windsor, Ont.	J. LONG
Local 0685,	Brantford, Ont.	K. FOSTER
Local 0846,	St. Catharines, Ont.	D. J. NORTON
Local 0966,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	K. MONGRAIN
Local 1320,	Peterborough, Ont.	R. RENAUD
Local 1374,	Calgary, Alta.	W. PALESCH
		R. SAARINEN
Local 1462,	St. John's, Nfld.	B. KING
Local 1505,	Winnipeg, Man.	H. COHEN
Local 1572,	Mississauga, Ont.	T. TOPPS
Local 1573,	Brampton, Ont.	S. LONG
Local 1587,	Downsview, Ont.	E. BLAKE

American Federation of Grain Millers
Fédération américaine des meuniers

Local 0154,	London, Ont.	A. STEINMAN
Local 0230,	Rexdale, Ont.	E. BORYSSKO
Local 0242,	London, Ont.	A. JONGENEELEN

Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International Union
Syndicat international des travailleurs de la boulangerie, confiserie et du tabac

Local 0320,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. LEVESQUE
Local 0323T,	Guelph, Ont.	C. HILL
Local 0325T,	Brampton, Ont.	V. CHRISTIANSEN
Local 0338T,	Guelph, Ont.	F. DUNMORE
Local 0350,	St-Léonard, Mtl, P.Q.	H. GAUTHIER
Local 0406,	Moncton, N.B.	W. JEWERS
Local 0446,	Halifax, N.S.	R. QUIGLEY

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
Fraternité des préposés à l'entretien des voies

Local 0083,	Belleville, Ont.	S. GLASS
Local 0161,	Airdrie, Alta.	H. THIESSEN
Local 0209,	Sherbrooke, P.Q.	G. VALANCE
Local 0312,	Edmundston, N.B.	R. ROY
Local 0497,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. BOLAND
Local 1184,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. TOUPIN

Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, Freighthandlers, Express and Station Employees
Fraternité des commis de chemin de fer, de lignes aériennes et de navigation, manutentionnaires de fret, employés de messageries et de gares

Local 0014,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. MANCHIP P. VERMETTE
Local 0650,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	J. LUKACIN F. MAZUR
Local 1275,	Toronto, Ont.	D. JOHNSTONE
Local 1802,	Mississauga, Ont.	S. CLARKE
Local 1803,	Edmonton, Alta.	A. D. BROWN
Local 1820,	Vancouver, B.C.	C. MICKLEWRIGHT
Local 1828,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. J. CRANCH
Local 2302,	Toronto, Ont.	E. C. HANNON
Local 2303,	Vimont-Laval, P.Q.	G. LEMIRE
Local 2304,	Don Mills, Ont.	J. CRABB
Local 2306,	Ottawa, Ont.	M. MULLALLY
Local 2307,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. McDUFF
Local 2308,	Mississauga, Ont.	B. PEREIRA
Local 2309,	Don Mills, Ont.	M. GAUTHIER
Local 2311,	Cambridge, Ont.	J. BECHTEL
Local 2312,	Don Mills, Ont.	G. MOORE
Local 2325,	Don Mills, Ont.	J. BOYCE
Local 2346,	Guelph, Ont.	H. TRYHORN

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada
Fraternité des wagonniers de chemins de fer des États-Unis et du Canada

Local 0072,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. ROY
Local 0234,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. SENEZ
Local 0371,	Winnipeg, Man.	N. W. ROMAS
Local 0550,	Transcona, Man.	N. D'OTTAVIO
Local 0669,	Mt. Pearl, Nfld.	F. CHANCEY

Canadian Air Line Employees' Association
Association canadienne des employés du transport aérien

Local 0102,	Mississauga, Ont.	D. LEE
Local 0152,	Mississauga, Ont.	D. McLEOD
Local 0205,	Mississauga, Ont.	R. LEMAY
Local 0300,	Mississauga, Ont.	C. KRYZANIWKSY
Local 0355,	Mississauga, Ont.	J. ARMSTRONG
Local 0401,	Mississauga, Ont.	A. DUBE
Local 0502,	Mississauga, Ont.	G. DOUCET
Local 0571,	Mississauga, Ont.	D. BOURQUE

Canadian Air Line Flight Attendants' Association
Association du personnel navigant commercial des compagnies aériennes canadiennes

Local 0001,	Vancouver, B.C.	L. GRENIER
Local 0005,	Vancouver, B.C.	R. L. GRASSIUCK

Local 0006,	Vancouver, B.C.	N. BROWNRIGG
Local 0007,	Vancouver, B.C.	S. CHRISTENSEN
Local 0008,	Vancouver, B.C.	R. DI SOUZA
Local 0009,	Vancouver, B.C.	N. BEVERIDGE
Local 0011,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. BROWN G. KREGOSKY
Local 0014,	Vancouver, B.C.	M. WHITE
Local 0015,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. PERSAND
Local 0017,	Vancouver, B.C.	R. NICHOL
Local 0018,	Vancouver, B.C.	C. BULL
Local 0020,	Montréal, P.Q.	I. McKENZIE
Local 0022,	Vancouver, B.C.	P. GAUTHIER

Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers
Fraternité canadienne des cheminots, employés des transports et autres ouvriers

Local 0003,	Campbellton, N.B.	J.E. STANLEY
Local 0005,	Moncton, N.B.	C. ARSENAULT
Local 0006,	Moncton, N.B.	E. DUPUIS
Local 0008,	Saint John, N.B.	D. E. ROSS
Local 0009,	Truro, N.S.	L. A. DAURIE
Local 0011,	Sydney, N.S.	M. LEWIS
Local 0014,	Lower Sackville, N.S.	W. D. HUTT
Local 0020,	Borden P.E.I.	D. JAY
Local 0028,	Prince George, B.C.	K. COLLINS
Local 0031,	Edmonton, Alta.	S. KAWCHUK
Local 0032,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	A. CERILLI
Local 0034,	Hamilton, Ont.	R. MacDONALD
Local 0040,	Englehart, Ont.	M. BELANGER
Local 0043,	Regina, Sask.	O. L. NAGY
Local 0045,	Dauphin, Man.	P. DOROSHUK
Local 0049,	Winnipeg, Man.	W. MATTHEW
Local 0050,	Edmonton, Alta.	H. L. CRITCHLEY
Local 0052,	Lévis, P.Q.	J. RICHARD
Local 0066,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. FOX
Local 0067,	Winnipeg, Man.	K. NAYLOR
Local 0071,	Jonquière, P.Q.	M. GAGNON
Local 0076,	Toronto, Ont.	J. BOND
Local 0079,	Edmonton, Alta.	A. ANDRZEJEWSKI
Local 0082,	Vancouver, B.C.	F. TRYBUCH
Local 0089,	Toronto, Ont.	F. CHILDS
Local 0091,	Jasper, Alta.	J. WALLATOR
Local 0093,	Richmond, B.C.	J. LIEFFERINS
Local 0096,	London, Ont.	D. CLARK
Local 0100,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. HALL
Local 0107,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. HAYKO
Local 0110,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. IRELAND
Local 0116,	Fort Erie, Ont.	R. A. SMITH
Local 0126,	Belleville, Ont.	J. THOMAS
Local 0127,	Borden, P.E.I.	K. SIGSWORTH

Local 0134,	St. Catharines. Ont.	V. WILSON
Local 0142,	Winnipeg, Man.	H. FALK
Local 0144,	Saskatoon, Sask.	W. MURRAY
Local 0146,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. A. LEVIA
Local 0147,	Bedford, N.S.	R.P. MacDONALD
Local 0151,	Biggar, Sask.	J. A. CRAIG N. KOWALCHUK
Local 0153,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. DOIRON
Local 0154,	Prince Rupert, B.C.	R. STORNESS-BLISS
Local 0160,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. VANDETTE
Local 0184,	Sarnia, Ont.	G. GALLOP
Local 0185,	Windsor, Ont.	G. ZAPPIO
Local 0209,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. ARISS
Local 0211,	St. Catharines, Ont.	F. C. JOHNSTON
Local 0212,	St. Catharines, Ont.	V. HEARN
Local 0213,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. COTE
Local 0216,	Richmond Hill, Ont.	S. W. MILOFF
Local 0223,	Pointe St-Charles, P.Q.	R. LAMARRE
Local 0226,	Surrey, B.C	G. ROBINSON
Local 0234,	Victoria, B.C.	D. S. WHITE
Local 0235,	Richmond, B.C.	J. PEARCE
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Local 1760,	Vancouver, B.C.	B. R. LEVENS
Local 1767,	Delta, B.C.	D. G. ROBSON
Local 1772,	Unity, Sask.	S. LORD
Local 1806,	Toronto, Ont.	B. WILSON
Local 1816,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. EUSTACE
Local 1827,	North Battleford, Sask.	R. GABER
Local 1838,	Regina, Sask.	L. HAY
Local 1841,	Verdun, P.Q.	T. ROSENDAAL
Local 1854,	Scarborough, Ont.	B. LAND
Local 1855,	Ponoka, Alta.	I. DUMONT
Local 1860,	St. John's, Nfld.	D. REYNOLDS
Local 1862,	Roxton Falls, P.Q.	R. DUPRE

Local 1867,	Bedford, N.S.	D. MORRISON
		G. R. MOSHER
Local 1878,	Longueuil, P.Q.	L. DERY
Local 1922,	Saskatoon, Sask.	G. CAUDLE
Local 1974,	Kingston, Ont.	H. FERRIS
		V. LLOYD
Local 1975,	Saskatoon, Sask.	A. ENS
Local 1975-01,	Regina, Sask.	D. DANYLCHUK
Local 1983,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. FONTAINE
		J. FLYNN
Local 1994,	Oakville, Ont.	P. DOUGLAS
Local 1996,	Toronto, Ont.	A. HUNT
Local 2000,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. MONTOUDIS
		A. CHARBONNEAU
		P. COUTURE
		J. VAILLANCOURT
		M. SIMARD
		J. LAMOUREUX
Local 2039,	Winnipeg, Man.	M. H. BRODIE
Local 2044,	Leamington, Ont.	P. INGENITO
Local 2054,	Verdun, P.Q.	A. GIGUERE
Local 2073,	Toronto, Ont.	P. COURNEYEUR
Local 2085,	Winnipeg, Man.	S. OAKLEY
Local 2096,	Brandon, Man.	W. SMITH
Local 2105,	Vimont, Laval, P.Q.	M. CHAUVETTE
Local 2111,	Edmonton, Alta.	P. MORTON
Local 2114,	Wainwright, Alta.	R. HARRIS
Local 2151,	Hamilton, Ont.	E. McCREADIE
Local 2180,	Winnipeg, Man.	M. LAIDLOW
Local 2187,	Ottawa, Ont.	L.G. MARKS
Local 2191,	Toronto, Ont.	G. HALL
Local 2195,	Ottawa, Ont.	P. PRIEDITIS
Local 2204,	Ottawa, Ont.	B. McDOWELL
Local 2214,	Chatham, Ont.	B. DAVIS
Local 2263,	Rosetown, Sask.	J. BEATTIE
Local 2268,	Saskatoon, Sask.	J. FERGUSSON
Local 2316,	Toronto, Ont.	K. RICHARD
Local 2323,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. WYLIE
Local 2327,	L'Orignal, Ont.	J. DOWELL
Local 2330,	Westville, N.S.	I. SALTER
Local 2334,	Ste-Foy, P.Q.	R. POULIN
Local 2348,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. COOK HANNIGAL
Local 2360,	Ste-Foy, P.Q.	A. POULIOT
Local 2393,	Town of Petrolia, Ont.	G. KIVIAHO
Local 2406,	Calgary, Alta.	M. CHUCKRY
Local 2415,	Ste-Foy, P.Q.	M. CLOUTIER
Local 2419,	Regina, Sask.	L. THOMPSON
Local 2424,	Ottawa, Ont.	S. GRUDA
Local 2440,	Ottawa, Ont.	T. COOK
Local 2441,	Ste-Foy, P.Q.	G. CAREAU
Local 2442,	Lévis, P.Q.	P. LAFLAMME

Local 2449,	St. John's, Nfld.	G. MURPHY
Local 2464,	Queen's Co., N.B.	J. BLACQUIER
Local 2497,	Toronto, Ont.	G. LEBANS
Local 2500,	Ste-Foy, P.Q.	L. RICHARD J.-C. ALBERT
Local 2509,	Oakbank, Man.	N. ADDISON
Local 2518,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. PAPINEAU
Local 2563,	Toronto, Ont.	M. DE PETRILLO
Local 2582,	Town of Martensville, Sask.	M. CLELLAND
Local 2588,	Cranbrook, B.C.	I. A. DOWNIE
Local 2595,	Ottawa, Ont.	F. TABACHNICK
Local 2679,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	L. BARRETTE
Local 2695,	St-Léonard, P.Q.	M. BOUCHARD
Local 2722,	Ottawa, Ont.	S. JOHNSON
Local 2850,	Montréal, P.Q.	P. BONENFANT
Local 3012,	Saskatoon, Sask.	C. SMILLIE
Local 3333,	St-Hubert, P.Q.	J. R. CINQ-MARS

Canadian Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers
Union canadienne des ouvriers unis des brasseries, farine, céréales, liqueurs douces et distilleries

Local 0173,	Waterloo, Ont.	W. RANNACHAN
Local 0250,	Edmonton, Alta.	K. McCARTHY
Local 0301,	Montréal, P.Q.	T. DALCOURT
Local 0304,	Toronto, Ont.	J. CAMERON A. CARROLL J. McNAMEE
Local 0306,	Barrie, Ont.	J. YONEYAMA
Local 0324,	Fonthill, Ont.	R. AYRES
Local 0325,	West Hill, Ont.	G. GRECO
Local 0326,	West Hill, Ont.	J. WEIR
Local 0330,	Winnipeg, Man.	H. LOSTER
Local 0354,	St. John's, Nfld.	K. WALSH
Local 0361,	Halifax, N.S.	G. FORAN
Local 0362,	Saint John, N.B.	D. CYR
Local 0364,	Saint John, N.B.	G. McMILLAN
Local 0381,	Rexdale, Ont.	R. HILL
Local 0701,	Saint John, N.B.	A. DUCKWORTH

Communications, Electronic, Electrical, Technical and Salaried Workers of Canada
Syndicat des travailleurs en communication, électronique, électricité, techniciens et salariés du Canada

Local 0001,	Regina, Sask.	D. ANDERSON D. HARRISON
Local 0002,	Saskatoon, Sask.	R. GODFREY
Local 0004,	Toronto, Ont.	J. E. GRAY
Local 0005,	Winnipeg, Man.	E. CLUNE
Local 0006,	Timmins, Ont.	D. R. HALL
Local 0007,	Winnipeg, Man.	M. P. WARD
Local 0009,	Downsview, Ont.	J. WALKER
Local 0016,	Toronto, Ont.	M. E. WILSON

Local 0025,	Toronto, Ont.	R. HAWES T. RICHARDSON
Local 0026,	Mississauga, Ont.	R. MORTIMER
Local 0027,	Toronto, Ont.	G. T. SNEE
Local 0030,	Belleville, Ont.	F. JARRELL
Local 0031,	Kingston, Ont.	D. HIGGENS
Local 0034,	Ottawa, Ont.	K. CHARMAN
Local 0035,	Ottawa, Ont.	P. BLACKSTAFFE
Local 0042,	Hamilton, Ont.	D. WILSON
Local 0050,	Toronto, Ont.	G. LARTER
Local 0051,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. J. BROWN
Local 0075,	Duberger, P.Q.	M. LEBLANC
Local 0077,	Cap-de-la-Madeleine, P.Q.	M. PINSONNEAULT
Local 0078,	Sherbrooke, P.Q.	R. ROY
Local 0079,	Granby, P.Q.	J. MORIN
Local 0080,	Hull, P.Q.	Y. FARRIER
Local 0081,	St-Jérome, P.Q.	J. KINKAID
Local 0083,	Laval, P.Q.	D. OUELLETTE
Local 0084,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. OUIMET
Local 0085,	Montréal, P.Q.	D. DUFOUR
Local 0401,	New Haven Cornwall, P.E.I.	R. BERCIER
Local 0402,	Saint John, N.B.	R. ARMSTRONG
Local 0501,	LaSalle, P.Q.	N. DUBOIS D. DUFOUR
Local 0522,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	J.-P. BLANCHARD
Local 0528,	Montréal, P.Q.	B. ARSENEAULT
Local 0545,	Mississauga, Ont.	V. COPELAND
Local 0553,	Brantford, Ont.	G. PATTINSON
Local 0599,	Peterborough, Ont.	J. E. LOUCKS

Distillery, Wine and Allied Workers' International Union of America
Union internationale des distillateurs d'Amérique et assimilés

Local 0064,	LaSalle, P.Q.	C. CARRIER
Local 0078,	Montréal Nord, P.Q.	R. LAPLANTE

Energy and Chemical Workers' Union
Syndicat des travailleurs de l'énergie et de la chimie

Local 0001,	Willowdale, Ont.	B. HAYES
Local 0011,	Scarborough, Ont.	B. YEAMAN
Local 0012,	Oakville, Ont.	K. V. ROGERS
Local 0028,	Lyn, Ont.	B. DELANEY
Local 0100,	Montréal, P.Q.	F. GAGNE
Local 0119,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. CORBEIL
Local 0138,	Granby, P.Q.	G. PARENT
Local 0219,	Belleville, Ont.	R. GREEN
Local 0513,	Willowdale, Ont.	G. DELORY
Local 0517,	Niagara Falls, Ont.	D. MOFFAT
Local 0601,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. T. PHILP
Local 0609,	Saskatoon, Sask.	V. LOEPPKY

Local 0633,	Hamilton, Ont.	R. McVEA
Local 0636,	Lachenaie, P.Q.	D. CUCCIOLETTA
Local 0649,	Regina, Sask.	G. H. STEININGER
Local 0666,	Edmonton, Alta.	W. KOLBA
Local 0672,	Sarnia, Ont.	J. HALEY
Local 0677,	Regina, Sask.	D.J. CEBRY
Local 0680,	Ormiston, Sask.	T.B. HAAS
Local 0728,	Edmonton, Alta.	G. SHURY
Local 0758,	Windsor, Ont.	M. HANRATTY
Local 0773,	Calgary, Alta.	G. BAXTER
Local 0829,	Edmonton, Alta.	R. C. BASKEN
Local 0892,	Esterhazy, Sask.	J. J. HOWATT
Local 0896,	Pembroke, Ont.	J. BOLDUC
Local 0911,	Regina, Sask.	B. SABISTON
Local 0914,	Sarnia, Ont.	J.R. HEALEY
		C. O'RAE
Local 0922,	Lanigan, Sask.	G. TODD
Local 0927,	Québec, P.Q.	A. RAICHE
Local 0938,	London, Ont.	J. TUCKEY
Local 0999,	Chatham, Ont.	B. KINART
Local 6720,	Willowdale, Ont.	D. WILBUR
Local 9670,	Amherstview, Ont.	H. GAUTHIER

Fédération des travailleurs du Québec — Construction
Quebec Federation of Labour — Construction

Local 0001,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. LABBE
Local 0003,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. BERGERON
		J. MARTINEE
		G. RUEL
Local 0009,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. CARRIERE
		L. G. CLOUTIER
Local AMI,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. GOUR
		R. MAJOR
Local 0029,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. BOUDREAU
Local 0099,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. DESJARDINS
Local 0100,	Montréal, P.Q.	R. POIRIER
Local 0618,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. G. MARTEL
Local 0737,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. J. LUSSIER
Local 1981,	Montréal, P.Q.	R. MATHIEU

Glass, Pottery, Plastic and Allied Workers' International Union
Union internationale des ouvriers associés du verre, de la poterie et du plastique

Local 0339,	Iberville, P.Q.	P. BROSSEAU
		C. LAVALLIERE
Local 0342,	Iberville, P.Q.	F. BRIEN
		M. PREVOST

Graphic Communications' International Union
Syndicat international des communications graphiques

Local 0041M,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. NOEL
Local 0512,	Omemee, Ont.	J. BROOKS
Local 0555,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. SARAULT

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union
Union internationale des employés d'hôtel, restaurants et commis de bar

Local 0031,	Montréal, P.Q.	D. SALCITO
Local 0075,	Toronto, Ont.	J. ADAMS
		J.-G. BELANGER
		F. CABRITA
		M. COELHO
		H. GREEN
		A. JEROME
		C. LONGE
		C. J. MARSHALL
		L. PHARAND
		G. M. PINEO
		C. PINNOCK
		M. SMITH
Local 0206,	Winnipeg, Man.	E. GORALSKI
Local 0261,	Ottawa, Ont.	F. DEPEDRO
Local 0272,	Ottawa, Ont.	T. L. REES
Local 0280,	Toronto, Ont.	S. McCOMBIE

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of U.S. and Canada
Alliance internationale des employés de la scène et de la télévision

Local 0056,	Montréal, P.Q.	B. PARKER
Local 0063,	Winnipeg, Man.	G. MURPHY
Local 0873,	Toronto, Ont.	H. MONTGOMERIE

International Association of Fire Fighters
Association internationale des pompiers

Local 0113,	Toronto, Ont.	O. BOLTON
Local 0771,	Saint John, N.B.	G. TAIT
Local 1484,	Toronto, Ont.	W. SABOURIN

International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
Association internationale des machinistes et des travailleurs de l'aéroastronautique

Local 0054,	Glenburnie, Ont.	L. ERLICHMAN
Local 0118,	Chateaugay, P.Q.	J.-P. MARCELLIN
Local 0235,	Oshawa, Ont.	M. FAHERTY
Local 0357,	Calgary, Alta.	S. BUGWONDEEN
Local 0412,	Kanata, Ont.	H. ALBERT
Local 0484,	Winnipeg, Man.	W. CAMERON
Local 0631,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	P. FRANCOIS
Local 0692,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. PICCIONI

Local 0712,	Montréal, P.Q.	P. BRISEBOIS B. FONTAINE
Local 0756,	London, Ont.	G. WARREN
Local 0764,	Richmond, B.C.	V. O'REGAN R. STEEVES
Local 0788,	Baltimore, Ont.	J. HANAFIN
Local 0869,	Lachine, P.Q.	E. GIRARD
Local 0901,	Scarborough, Ont.	W. WALKER
Local 0922,	Rock Forest, P.Q.	S. ISABEL
Local 0962,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	P. QUILLE
Local 0987,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	L. BERUBE
Local 1105,	Brantford, Ont.	K. E. FROST
Local 1148,	L'Assomption, P.Q.	R. CODERRE
Local 1250,	Lower Sackville, N.S.	N. KEMP
Local 1252,	Downsview, Ont.	S. JALALI
Local 1500,	Richmond, B.C.	A. SHIRA
Local 1660,	Lachine, P.Q.	C. GINGRAS
Local 1751,	St-Laurent, P.Q.	J. AMIRAULT R. DAVIDSON R. MERCURE D. SULLIVAN
Local 1758,	Montréal, P.Q.	P. DUBOIS
Local 2220,	Cap-de-la-Madeleine, P.Q.	J.-C. LAGACE
Local 2235,	Cartierville, P.Q.	A. GINGRAS
Local 2468,	Lachine, P.Q.	L. CAPPADOCIA
Local 2724,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. O'CONNOR
Local 2727,	Lachine, P.Q.	M. STE-MARIE

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers
Fraternité internationale des chauffeurs et huileurs

Local 0484,	Toronto, Ont	A. IACOBACCIO
Local 0712,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. ROSNER

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Union internationale des ouvriers du vêtement pour dames

Local 14, 83 and 92,	Toronto, Ont.	W. VILLANO
Local 0112,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. AUCLAIR G. GAUTHIER
Local 0113,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. GOLDSTEP
Local 0205,	Montréal, P.Q.	P. BROSSEAU
Local 0246,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. RIENDEAU
Local 0262,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. CABRAL D. DENEAULT H. LEHOUX J. MASSEY J. MILLETTE
Local 0286,	Winnipeg, Man.	L. SPILLETT
Local 0287,	Vancouver, B.C.	M. HILL
Local 0315,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. DESCHENEAUX
Local 0438,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. BORTOLINI

Local 0439,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. VAILLANCOURT
Local 0485,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. MERCIER
Local 0568,	Vancouver, B.C.	N. RESTORICK

International Longshoremen's Association
Association internationale des débardeurs

Local 0375,	Montréal, P.Q.	T. BEAUDIN
Local 1846,	Trois- Rivières, P.Q.	M. POIRIER

International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
Syndicat international des débardeurs et magasiniers

Local 0517,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. CRAIG
Local 0540,	Regina, Sask.	B. HAUGHEY
Local 0568,	Regina, Sask.	L. WALLACE
Local 0580,	Vancouver, B.C.	R. McCANN
		J. SQUIRE

International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union
Union internationale des mouleurs et des travailleurs associés

Local 0011,	Cambridge, Ont.	E. MARSH
Local 0016,	Toronto, Ont.	B. MORGAN
Local 0023,	Delhi, Ont.	R. MARSHALL
Local 0028,	Toronto, Ont.	N. DANIEL
Local 0049,	London, Ont.	L. GROVE
Local 0064,	Toronto, Ont.	A. NAPLES
Local 0194,	Cambridge, Ont.	G. E. PLANCKE
Local 0246,	Woodstock, Ont.	L. RICE
Local 0360,	Calgary, Alta.	R. BRIGGS

International Plate Printers', Die Stampers', and Engravers' Union of North America
Syndicat international des graveurs et matriceurs

Local 0006,	Ottawa, Ont.	E. MAJOR

International Typographical Union
Union internationale des typographes

Local 0036,	Calgary, Alta.	L. M. RUFO
Local 0091,	Scarborough, Ont.	J. BULLER
Local 0145,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. CHAUMONT
		D. McKAY
Local 0868,	Prince George, B.C.	J. LANGAN

International Woodworkers of America
Syndicat international des travailleurs du bois d'Amérique

Local 1-080,	Duncan, B.C.	F. VIALA
Local 1-085,	Port Alberni, B.C.	M. KOKURA
		M. MEARNS
Local 1-207,	Edmonton, Alta.	K. W. JOHNSON
Local 1-217,	Vancouver, B.C.	E. EWERT
		D. JANTZEN
		J. RALLA
		V. SCHWEIGHARDT

Local 1-324,	The Pas, Man.	T. DERHOUSOFF
Local 1-357,	New Westminster, B.C.	L. LAFFEY J. LECLAIR R. McMILLAN W. F. SIMCOE
Local 1-363,	Courtenay, B.C.	N. CHERNOFF
Local 1-423,	Kelowna, B.C.	V. LEDGER
Local 2-278,	Weston, Ont.	B. BROWN

Letter Carriers' Union of Canada
Union des facteurs du Canada

Local 0001,	Toronto, Ont.	J. E. CLARKE
Local 0002,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. DELLEPALME
Local 0003,	Hamilton, Ont.	V. PRINCIPI
Local 0004,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. LAMPMAN
Local 0005,	Québec, P.Q.	R. BEGIN
Local 0006,	Saint John, N.B.	G. LOWE
Local 0007,	Winnipeg, Man.	F. CAMPBELL
Local 0010,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. DESJARDINS G. MALO
Local 0011,	Victoria, B.C.	W. D. STEELE
Local 0013,	Brantford, Ont.	D. FIELDHOUSE
Local 0014,	Calgary, Alta.	D. HAMLIN
Local 0015,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. DONALDSON
Local 0016,	Windsor, Ont.	M. J. VILLEMAIRE
Local 0020,	Kitchener, Ont.	R. HEIDLINGER
Local 0021,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. HEPPELLE
Local 0025,	Sherbrooke, P.Q.	A. BOISVERT
Local 0030,	Regina, Sask.	G. H. LEGARE
Local 0035,	Saskatoon, Sask.	B. MALOWANCHUK C. N. NELSON
Local 0041,	Calgary, Alta.	N. NEELANDS
Local 0050,	Hull, P.Q.	R. STRASBOURG
Local 0069,	Cornwall, Ont.	M. ROBERT
Local 0081,	Saint-Jérôme, P.Q.	G. MORRISSETTE
Local 0085,	Simcoe, Ont.	G. WILKINSON
Local 0093,	Swift Current, Sask.	D. KENNEY
Local 0096,	Windsor, Ont.	J. DAVID
Local 0121,	Brampton, Ont.	L. MULHOLLAND
Local 0123,	Winnipeg, Man.	L. LECHMAN
Local 0130,	Vai D'Or, P.Q.	R, CYR
Local 0137,	Lachute, P.Q.	N. TREMBLAY
Local 0143,	Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, P.Q.	A. OUELLET
Local 0150,	Alma, P.Q.	J.-C. MINIER
Local 0152,	Stoney Creek, Ont.	N. SMITH
Local 0156,	Gatineau, P.Q.	F. LAPORTE
Local 0163,	Grimby, Ont.	C. F. MAGUIRE
Local 0173,	Dauphin, Man.	L. RUSSELL
Local 0177,	Ottawa, Ont.	P. J. REIDY
Local 0179,	Mississauga, Ont.	R. S. CAMPBELL
Local 0186,	Ottawa, Ont.	G. RAMEAU

Local 0192,	Chambly, P.Q.	L. LEVESQUE
Local 0198,	Winnipeg, Man.	G. MARCOUX
Local 0246,	Mont Laurier, P.Q.	R. PAQUETTE
Local 0262,	Maniwaki, P.Q.	J. P. LEBLOND
Local 0270,	Delta, B.C.	R. ANDRUS
Local 0271,	Lasarre, P.Q.	Y. CHIASSON
Local 0272,	Toronto, Ont.	R. McKINNON
Local 0275,	Windsor, Ont.	R. HUGHES
Local 0284,	Carleton Place, Ont.	H. FLING
Local 0285,	Windsor, Ont.	J. FRAM
Local 0288,	Scarborough, Ont.	L. O'HARA
Local 0352,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. MARIN

Marine Workers' Federation
Fédération des travailleurs des chantiers et autres industries maritimes assimilées

Local 0001,	Halifax, N.S.	W. COSTAIN
Local 0003,	Saint John, N.B.	G. MARR
Local 0020,	Marystown, Nfld.	L. E. WALSH
Local 0024,	Mahone Bay, N.S.	C. B. COVEY
Local 0028,	Halifax, N.S.	G. GEDDES
Local 0033,	Saint John, N.B.	C. E. MacDONALD

Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', and Helpers International Union
Syndicat international des polisseurs de métal et plaqueurs

Local 0019,	Scarborough, Ont.	B. GOMES

National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians
Association nationale des employés et techniciens en radiodiffusion

Local 0067,	Montréal, P.Q.	R. LAVISLAS
Local 0071,	Willowdale, Ont.	J. MacKENZIE
Local 0072,	Toronto, Ont.	D. PAUL
Local 0074,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. FOURNIER
Local 0079,	N. York, Willowdale, Ont.	G. CLEMENTS
Local 0700,	Toronto, Ont.	M. O'CONNOR

NATIONAL UNION OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
SYNDICAT NATIONAL DE LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE PROVINCIALE

Alberta Union of Provincial Government Employees
Syndicat de la fonction publique de l'Alberta

Local 001/041,	Edmonton, Alta.	S. ATTENBOROUGH S. SHARPE
Local 00001,	Edmonton, Alta.	E. BRIGHT A. A. BRUCE B. HOLT M. A. HYATT P. KIRKWOOD

		A. M. LENDZION
		G. LETENDRE
		F. MARTIN
		E. McRAE
		A. RANDALL
		B. RANDALL
		H. REDFORD
		L. SNYDERS
		B. STRAWSON
		P. WOCKNITZ
Local 00002,	Edmonton, Alta	K. JOHNSTON
		R. STRATCH
Local 00003,	Edmonton, Alta	C. JOHNSON
		D. POTTER
Local 00004,	Edmonton, Alta.	M. DONALD
		B. KREISER
Local 00006,	Edmonton, Alta.	P. DUTEAU
		C. DEAN
Local 00007,	Edmonton, Alta	L. PALMATEER
Local 00009,	Edmonton, Alta.	N. JURIC
		N. VAN HELVERT
Local 00011,	Edmonton, Alta.	J. BOOTH
		B. HORNUNG
Local 00012,	Edmonton, Alta.	J. BOWERMAN
		S. NIMCHUK
Local 00019,	Edmonton, Alta.	K. SRI THAKUR
Local 00038,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. FROST
Local 00052,	Calgary, Alta.	F. E. AUSTIN
Local 00053,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. SOLVEY
Local 00054,	Edmonton, Alta.	L. CRAWFORD
		H. DHILLON
		J. McGATHAN
Local 00056,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. COULTIS
Local 00057,	Edmonton, Alta.	K. KADYK
Local 00060,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. LAYDON
Local 00103,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. WILLIAMS
Local 00106,	Edmonton, Alta.	M. STOKOWSKI
		M. L. WOOD
Local 01050,	Edmonton, Alta.	D. CAMPBELL
Local 01054,	Edmonton, Alta.	C. ARNOLD
Local 01999,	Edmonton, Alta.	W. LEESON
Local 05001,	Edmonton, Alta.	D. GAMBLE
Local 05002,	Edmonton, Alta.	J. COPOC
Local 08004,	Edmonton, Alta.	C. SHEPHERD
Local 09005,	Camrose, Alta.	P. C. CONNELLY
Local 10001,	Edmonton, Alta.	T. RUCKENTHALER
Local 11002,	Edmonton, Alta.	D. ANDERSON
Local 11026,	Edmonton, Alta.	D. R. LONG
Local 11075,	Edmonton, Alta.	D. EBANKS
Local 50013,	Edmonton, Alta.	W. PAQUETTE
Local 55001,	Edmonton, Alta.	G. CADIEUX

B.C. Government Employees' Union
Syndicat des fonctionnaires provinciaux de la Colombie-Britannique

Local 00052,	Burnaby, B.C.	L. STONE
Local 00057,	Burnaby, B.C.	T. KOZAR
Local 00059,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. NELSON
Local 00066,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. FOX
Local 00067,	Burnaby, B.C.	P. JAMES
Local 00070,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. O'HANLON
Local 00102,	Burnaby, B.C.	T. GALLAGHER
Local 00105,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. TRULSEN
Local 00111,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. REYNOLDS
Local 00201,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. FENN
Local 00203,	Burnaby, B.C.	L. AHEARN
		D. HALAS
Local 00205,	Burnaby, B.C.	K. ROBINSON
Local 00234,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. SMYTH
Local 00300,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. LANGLEY
Local 00302,	Burnaby, B.C.	H. PEDERSEN
Local 00304,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. MOWATT
Local 00308,	Burnaby, B.C.	K. BRATSBERG
Local 00309,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. ASKEW
Local 00501,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. BARNETT
Local 00502,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. FRANKLIN
Local 00503,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. BUCHAN
Local 00505,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. MUNRO
Local 00508,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. SARICH
Local 00511,	Burnaby, B.C.	C. ANDSTEIN
Local 00601,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. SHIELDS
Local 00603,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. RICE
Local 00605,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. PROCTOR
Local 00610,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. ADAMS
Local 00611,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. B. KEOUGH
Local 00612,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. GELLATELY
Local 00803,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. VAN HAASTREGT
Local 00804,	Burnaby, B.C.	W. DERMODY
Local 00807,	Burnaby, B.C.	T. WATSON
Local 00812,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. HEYMAN
Local 01001,	Burnaby, B.C.	L. THORPE
Local 01002,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. CLARKE
Local 01003,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. HOOD
Local 01008,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. BRANDEN
Local 01009,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. TAYLOR
Local 01101,	Burnaby, B.C.	A. USTIK
Local 01102,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. LEECH
Local 01103,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. MacPHAIL
Local 01105,	Burnaby, B.C.	E. HONCHARUK
Local 01108,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. MORRISON
Local 01201,	Burnaby, B.C.	N. T. RICHARDS
Local 01203,	Burnaby, B.C.	E. M. BELLAMORE
		K. SANDERSON
Local 01204,	Burnaby, B.C.	M. ARTHUR

Local 01205,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. E. WHITE
Local 01207,	Burnaby, B.C.	B. PARKER
Local 01211,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. WOOD
Local 01502,	Burnaby, B.C.	K. KITCHEN
Local 01503,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. HENSBY
Local 01509,	Burnaby, B.C.	C. CLARKSON

Manitoba Government Employees' Association
Association de la fonction publique du Manitoba

Local 00106,	Winnipeg, Man.	D. HOLMES
Local 00107,	Winnipeg, Man.	P. OLFERT
Local 00402,	Winnipeg, Man.	B. ONYSKO
Local 00407,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. E. PULLEN
Local 00503,	Winnipeg, Man.	E. WATT
Local 00506,	Winnipeg, Man.	M. PAINCHAUD
Local 00507,	Winnipeg, Man.	G. DOER
Local 00508,	Winnipeg, Man.	B. VAIL
Local 00603,	Winnipeg, Man.	W. ANDON
Local 00701,	Winnipeg, Man.	B. J. FRYKAS
Local 00801,	Winnipeg, Man.	B. BEADLE
Local 00803,	Winnipeg, Man.	L. AUBE
Local 00804,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. ARNOTT
Local 00805,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. KELLY
Local 00807,	Winnipeg, Man.	T. B. BLEASDALE
Local 00902,	Winnipeg, Man.	S. ROZNOWSKY
Local 01007,	Winnipeg, Man.	P. RUSSELL
Local 01306,	Winnipeg, Man.	L. SEBASTIAN
Local 02307,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. DEMONG
Local 02807,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. TRUDEAU
Local 03606,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. MALONEY

Newfoundland Association of Public Employees
Association de la fonction publique de Terre-Neuve

Local 01403,	St. John's, Nfld.	R. HUSSEY
Local 01404,	St. John's, Nfld.	E. SEWARD
Local 01701,	St. John's, Nfld.	D. O'CONNOR
Local 01801,	St. John's, Nfld.	J. KEATS
Local 01802,	St. John's, Nfld.	T. O'CONNELL
Local 02101,	St. John's, Nfld.	D. CURTIS
Local 05302,	St. John's, Nfld.	C. HEDGES
Local 06206,	St. John's, Nfld.	B. PITCHER
Local 06604,	St. John's, Nfld.	E. POWER
Local 06901,	St. John's, Nfld.	M. FLEMING
Local 07001,	St. John's, Nfld.	L. PUDDESTER
Local 07104,	St. John's, Nfld.	L. LAING
Local 07107,	St. John's, Nfld.	P. IVANY
Local 07401,	St. John's, Nfld.	N. RICHE
Local 07402,	St. John's, Nfld.	B. DARRY
Local 07804,	St. John's, Nfld.	D. FUDGE
Local 09301,	St. John's, Nfld.	H. MARCH

Nova Scotia Government Employees' Association
Association de la fonction publique de Nouvelle-Ecosse

Local 00001,	Halifax, N.S.	J. BACICH
Local 00002,	Halifax, N.S.	D. BALKAN
Local 00003,	Halifax, N.S.	A. LINDSAY
Local 00004,	Halifax, N.S.	R. CAINEY
Local 00005,	Halifax, N.S.	A. TIMMONS
Local 00006,	Halifax, N.S.	J. RYAN
Local 00007,	Halifax, N.S.	V. HENRIKSON
Local 00012,	Halifax, N.S.	M. WEXLER
Local 00013,	Halifax, N.S.	G. WOLFE
Local 00016,	Halifax, N.S.	M. ERHARDT
Local 00018,	Halifax, N.S.	G. BLANCHARD
Local 00020,	Halifax, N.S.	L. SINGLER
Local 00022,	Halifax, N.S.	J. SCHREUER
Local 00052,	Halifax, N.S.	J. COLEMAN
Local 00470,	Halifax, N.S.	G. PARKER

Ontario Liquor Boards' Employees Union
Syndicat des employés des régies des alcools de l'Ontario

Local 00002,	Mississauga, Ont.	M. DRYSDALE
Local 00004,	Mississauga, Ont.	J. MILES
Local 00007,	Mississauga, Ont.	A. EDMUNDS
Local 00016,	Mississauga, Ont.	B. PORTER
Local 00017,	Mississauga, Ont.	M. SULLIVAN
Local 00020,	Mississauga, Ont.	G. GERRARD
Local 00021,	Mississauga, Ont.	H. NIELSEN
Local 00023,	Mississauga, Ont.	N. LYE
Local 00026,	Mississauga, Ont.	D. MACKINNON

Ontario Public Service Employees' Union
Syndicat des employés de la fonction publique de l'Ontario

Local 00101,	Toronto, Ont.	E. McTAGGART
Local 00104,	Toronto, Ont.	R. ANWYLL
Local 00114,	Toronto, Ont.	A. WARREN
Local 00117,	Toronto, Ont.	G. BAYNE
Local 00118,	Toronto, Ont.	F. THOMAS
Local 00122,	Toronto, Ont.	R. JACKSON
Local 00127,	Toronto, Ont.	B. SHARP
Local 00134,	Toronto, Ont.	M. WITTER
Local 00137,	Toronto, Ont.	J. PFLANZNER
Local 00138,	Toronto, Ont.	M. JONES
Local 00201,	Toronto, Ont.	J. MYERS
Local 00205,	Toronto, Ont.	D. ZUK
Local 00210,	Toronto, Ont.	B. WOOD
Local 00218,	Toronto, Ont.	V. VINERSKIS
Local 00221,	Toronto, Ont.	W. PIERCE
Local 00230,	Toronto, Ont.	S. ARMSTRONG
Local 00238,	Toronto, Ont.	K. GENNINGS
Local 00242,	Toronto, Ont.	S. O'FLYNN
Local 00244,	Toronto, Ont.	R. MARTIN

Local 00245,	Toronto, Ont.	M. LAPOINTE
Local 00248,	Toronto, Ont.	H. HALFPENNY
Local 00251,	Toronto, Ont.	L. TAYLOR
Local 00301,	Toronto, Ont.	J. BEER
Local 00302,	Toronto, Ont.	P. DASHFIELD
Local 00305,	Toronto, Ont.	K. THIBEAU
Local 00306,	Toronto, Ont.	E. LAVALLEY
Local 00313,	Toronto, Ont.	L. FOLZ
Local 00314,	Toronto, Ont.	R. EDDINGTON
Local 00323,	Toronto, Ont.	C. WOODROW
Local 00331,	Toronto, Ont.	F. UPSHAW
Local 00332,	Toronto, Ont.	B. CASEY
Local 00337,	Toronto, Ont.	D. LLOYD
Local 00339,	Toronto, Ont.	D. JULIAN
Local 00345,	Toronto, Ont.	M. TROKE
Local 00413,	Toronto, Ont.	D. GERVAIS
Local 00414,	Toronto, Ont.	B. JOSEPH
Local 00416,	Toronto, Ont.	B. ALLAN
Local 00420,	Toronto, Ont.	H. PLUMMER
Local 00431,	Toronto, Ont.	C. LOCKWOOD
Local 00432,	Toronto, Ont.	B. MILLER
Local 00434,	Toronto, Ont.	W. CRAIG
Local 00435,	Toronto, Ont.	E. SAMMONS
Local 00448,	Toronto, Ont.	R. CORMIER
Local 00453,	Toronto, Ont.	T. ROSE
Local 00468,	Toronto, Ont.	H. TOOP
Local 00505,	Toronto, Ont.	H. M. MacNEIL
Local 00511,	Toronto, Ont.	S. JOHNSTON
Local 00512,	Toronto, Ont.	P. MACIOLIS
Local 00519,	Toronto, Ont.	P. LEE
Local 00530,	Toronto, Ont.	K. WILSON
Local 00536,	Toronto, Ont.	D. STEWART
Local 00548,	Toronto, Ont.	G. BROWN
Local 00549,	Toronto, Ont.	H. KARELAS
Local 00561,	Toronto, Ont.	S. VALLANCE
Local 00563,	Toronto, Ont.	B. EGRI
Local 00579,	Toronto, Ont.	P. DEPOE
Local 00589,	Toronto, Ont.	M. O'BRIEN
Local 00595,	Toronto, Ont.	B. WEISLEDER
Local 00602,	Toronto, Ont.	G. KERHANOVICH
Local 00606,	Toronto, Ont.	R. BROWN
Local 00608,	Toronto, Ont.	C. BARRON
Local 00622,	Toronto, Ont.	P. HATALA
Local 00627,	Toronto, Ont.	D. HARASYMIW
Local 00628,	Toronto, Ont.	S. DEPATIE
Local 00632,	Toronto, Ont.	L. MacKENZIE
Local 00636,	Toronto, Ont.	G. ROWE
Local 00649,	Toronto, Ont.	F. NICE
Local 00655,	Toronto, Ont.	B. KEUHNBAUM
Local 00664,	Toronto, Ont.	B. RHEAULT
Local 00701,	Toronto, Ont.	D. ROSSI

Local 00703,	Toronto, Ont.	J. CARROLL
Local 00708,	Toronto, Ont.	T. CONNOLLY
Local 00711,	Toronto, Ont.	B. SEDGWICK
Local 00712,	Toronto, Ont.	J. ARMSTRONG
Local 00713,	Toronto, Ont.	B. COOMBS
Local 00720,	Toronto, Ont.	M. VEZINA
Local 00724,	Toronto, Ont.	D. HALL
Local 00731,	Toronto, Ont.	J. BARDEN
Local 00734,	Toronto, Ont.	L. M. GODESKI

Prince Edward Island Public Service Association
Association de la fonction publique de l'Île-du-Prince-Edouard

Local 00002,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	C. DAVIS
Local 00004,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	R. KELLY
Local 00008,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	S. MACKAY
Local 00009,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	B. MORIARITY
Local 00015,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	H. MacDONALD
Local 00016,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	V. GAUDET
Local 00018,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	G. MURPHY
Local 00022,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	A. MELANSON

Saskatchewan Government Employees' Union
Syndicat de la fonction publique de Saskatchewan

Local 00001,	Regina, Sask.	R. AUGUST B. BYERS I. HENDRY B. JACKSON L. JACKSON S. MacDONALD
Local 00002,	Regina, Sask.	V. KAZAKOFF D. SWEET
Local 00003,	Regina, Sask.	Z. KRAWCHUK
Local 00004,	Regina, Sask.	R. KACH
Local 00005,	Regina, Sask.	T. MERKOWSKI
Local 00006,	Regina, Sask.	K. CANTIN
Local 00007,	Regina, Sask.	M. DEMETROW
Local 00008,	Regina, Sask.	P. BESKOWINEY
Local 00009,	Regina, Sask.	R. TATARYN
Local 00010,	Regina, Sask.	R. HOBBS
Local 00012,	Regina, Sask.	E. MARTIN
Local 00014,	Regina, Sask.	J. MEED
Local 00015,	Regina, Sask.	N. CATCHUK
Local 00017,	Regina, Sask.	M. ENGLOT
Local 00019,	Regina, Sask.	L. GODIN
Local 00021,	Regina, Sask.	P. FLANAGAN
Local 00022,	Regina, Sask.	L. BROWN
Local 00023,	Regina, Sask.	D. HARRIS

Ontario Federation of Labour — Construction
Fédération des travailleurs de l'Ontario — Construction

Local 00607,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	R. DAVIS
Local 00721,	Toronto, Ont.	J. DONALDSON

Local 01036,	Sault St. Marie, Ont.	J. LEWIS
Local 01059,	London, Ont.	J. MACKINNON

Office and Professional Employees' International Union
Union internationale des employés professionnnels et de bureau

Local 00057,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. FILLION H. JOUVET C. LAMOTHE M. LAPLANTE A. TREMBLAY
Local 00214,	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	G. BEAUREGARD
Local 00225,	Ottawa, Ont.	S. WALLACE
Local 00343,	Toronto, Ont.	S. PATTERSON
Local 00347,	Sarnia, Ont.	K. MADDISON
Local 00378,	Vancouver, B.C.	A. HARVEY
Local 00397,	Regina, Sask.	J. SCHMIDT
Local 00434,	Montréal, P.Q.	Y.C. RIVARD
Local 00468,	London, Ont.	G. SNEDDON
Local 00473,	London, Ont.	K. McDONALD
Local 00491,	Ottawa, Ont.	C. GUILBEAULT

PUBLIC SERVICE ALLIANCE OF CANADA
ALLIANCE DE LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE DU CANADA

Canada Employment and Immigration Union
Syndicat de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada

Local 00543,	Toronto, Ont.	C. PASCUCCI
Local 00546,	Toronto, Ont.	A. LAPINSKAS
Local 00592,	Kitchener, Ont.	D. HILLIER
Local 00614,	Ottawa, Ont.	S. GIAMPETRIE
Local 00618,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. W. PAGE
Local 00621,	Cornwall, Ont.	B. KEREKES
Local 10351,	Thetford Mines, P.Q.	R. PAQUET
Local 10363,	St-Cyrille, P.Q.	A. MARTIN
Local 10390,	Rosemère, P.Q.	P. VAILLANT-PIERRE
Local 10432,	Amos, P.Q.	M. BELLEMARE
Local 10450,	Lévis, P.Q.	C. LABONTE
Local 20901,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. ABRAMOWICH
Local 20944,	Vancouver, B.C.	A. WEST
Local 30854,	Peace River, Alta.	E. LISTER
Local 40802,	Saskatoon, Sask.	J. M. SMITH
Local 40806,	Alsask, Sask.	G. M. DENNEY
Local 50757,	Winnipeg, Man.	J. DERRAUGH P. TROTTIER
Local 60257,	Fredericton, N.B.	G. GREENE
Local 70709,	Ottawa, Ont.	K. M. FOLEY
Local 80205,	New Glasgow, N.S.	J. R. MacDONALD
Local 90109,	Grander, Nfld.	D. COADY
Local 90153,	Charlotetown, PE.I.	B. V. REILLY
Local 10012,	Brossard, P.Q.	M. CHEVALIER
Local 10424,	Alma, P.Q.	J. BERGERON

Custom and Excise Union
Union douanes accise

Local 70066,	Ottawa, Ont.	P. PATTON

Department of Agriculture Component
Syndicat de l'Agriculture

Local 00001,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. BURKE
Local 00002,	Halifax, N.S.	W. C. OGILVIE
Local 00016,	London, Ont.	L. R. LENG
Local 00020,	Regina, Sask.	F. WILSON
Local 00030,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	R. TORNBLOM
Local 00039,	Kamloops, B.C.	H. PARDOEL
Local 00054,	Swift Current, Sask.	F. J. LEWIS
Local 00058,	Nappan Cumb. Co. N.S.	R. RIPLEY
Local 10010,	L'Assomption, P.Q.	G. MENARD
Local 10011,	Lennoxville, P.Q.	A. VACHON
Local 10080,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. SENECHAL
Local 10082,	St-Célestin, P.Q.	C. A. PARENT
Local 20038,	Agassiz, B.C.	L. UZICK
Local 20060,	Vancouver, B.C.	F. J. COATES
Local 30023,	Edmonton, Alta.	L. D. MORTON
Local 30048,	Ottawa, Ont.	R .V. MILLWARD
Local 40052,	Ottawa, Ont.	K. A. WILLOUGHBY
Local 50057,	Winnipeg, Man.	R. CAMPBELL
Local 70067,	Ottawa, Ont.	H. DOLTER
Local 90004,	Winsloe, P.E.I.	H. N. VESSEY

Department of Veterans' Affairs Component
Syndicat du ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants

Local 20029,	Vancouver, B.C.	J. HAMILTON

Environment Component
Elément de l'Environnement

Local 00709,	Willowdale, Ont.	R.C. POERSCH
Local 10731,	Longueuil, P.Q.	G. BERTHIAUME
Local 50135,	Lorette,Man.	A. BEAL
Local 50707,	Winnipeg, Man.	R. CARMAN
Local 60083,	St. Andrews, N.B.	C. MONAGHAN
Local 70711,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. VAN HUMBECK
Local 70712,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. K. PACHOLIK

National Component
Elément national

Local 00258,	Ottawa, Ont.	T. McAULAY
Local 10269,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. LEMIRE
Local 20248,	Nanaimo, B.C.	M. MARCHESSAULT
Local 50234,	Dauphin, Man.	F. FOX
Local 70059,	Ottawa, Ont.	D.T. DELANEY W. S. JACKSON
Local 70080,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. YERRELL
Local 70101,	Ottawa, Ont.	H. STEVENS
Local 70125,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. DELANEY

Local 70173,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. LARKIN
Local 70176,	Ottawa, Ont.	P.J. FORTUNE
Local 70291,	Ottawa, Ont.	P. MULVIHILL
Local 70344,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. PAPINEAU
Local 70367,	Kanata, Ont.	F. AMYOT
Local 80020,	Caledonia, N.S.	J. L. MacDONALD

National Health and Welfare Component
Syndicat de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social

Local 10006,	Ottawa, Ont.	M. BRAZEAU
Local 70008,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. GRATTON

Northwest Territories Public Service Association
Association de la Fonction publique des Territoires du Nord-Ouest

Local 00001,	Yellowknife, N.W.T.	A. F. LAMB

Postal-Communications Component
Elément des Postes-communications

Local 00105,	Toronto, Ont.	R. G. CHANDLER
Local 10105,	Montréal, P.Q.	V. GUADAGUANO
Local 10120,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. GAGNON
Local 70180,	Ottawa, Ont.	G. ST. AMOUR

Public Works Component
Elément des Travaux publics

Local 00027,	Ottawa, Ont.	W. CRAWFORD
Local 10015,	Waterville, P.Q.	L. MAYER
Local 10121,	Québec, P.Q.	M. PAQUET
Local 10161,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. FAUTEUX
Local 20045,	Victoria, B.C.	K. MORROW
Local 30042,	Edmonton, Alta.	B. ALLARD
Local 70018,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. GORDON
Local 70019,	Ottawa, Ont.	A. S. PULLEY
Local 70021,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. T. BEAN
Local 70023,	Ottawa, Ont.	G. LAVERGNE
Local 80052,	Halifax, N.S.	C. BAILEY
Local 90011,	St. John's, Nfld.	M. A. MARTIN
Local110046,	Whitehorse, Y.T.	R. ZACCARELLI

Union of Solicitor General Employees
Union des employés du Solliciteur général

Local 60020,	Dorchester, N.B.	F. B. GILLESPIE
Local 70041,	Ottawa, Ont.	L, McLAREN

Supply and Services Union
Syndicat des Approvisionnements et services

Local 50008,	Winnipeg, Man.	V. M. DENESIUK
Local 70013,	Ottawa, Ont.	L. DEWIS
		R. LEPAGE
Local 70055,	Ottawa, Ont.	R. KING
Local 80052,	Dartmouth, N.S.	M. LAVERY

Taxation Division Component
Syndicat de l'Impôt

Local 10008,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. LEDUC
Local 10009,	Evain, P.Q.	L. GAGNON

Union of Canadian Transport Employees
Union canadienne des employés des Transports

Local 10107,	St-Hubert, P.Q.	D. Y. CLICHE
Local 60602,	Moncton, N.B.	A. MUNN

Union of Energy, Mines and Resources Employees
Syndicat des employés de l'énergie, des mines et ressources

Local 09190,	Elliot Lake, Ont.	R. DUFF
Local 20088,	Ottawa, Ont.	M. LONGTIN
Local 30177,	Ottawa, Ont.	H. J. OWEN
Local 70049,	Ottawa, Ont.	D. A. BROWN B. MILLER
Local 80013,	Dartmouth, N.S.	C. LALONDE

Union of National Defence Employees
Union des employés de la Défense nationale

Local 00201,	Summerside, P.E.I.	J. E. LAUGHLIN
Local 00305,	Moncton, N.B.	C. LEBLANC
Local 00401,	Cornwallis, N.S.	R.W. WOODLAND
Local 00406,	Halifax, N.S.	W. DALEY
Local 00502,	Courcellette, P.Q.	B. VILLENEUVE
Local 00503,	Valcartier, P.Q.	M. GERARD
Local 00526,	Montreal, P.Q.	D. GUERIN
Local 00528,	Ottawa, Ont.	H. GIRARD
Local 00602,	Hull, P.Q.	R. CHARRON
Local 00603,	Ottawa, Ont.	B. CAMPBELL
Local 00607,	Ottawa, Ont.	K. A. HAWLEY
Local 00619,	Borden, Ont.	D. MILLIKEN
Local 00641,	Kingston, Ont.	M. McNEELY
Local 00653,	Ottawa, Ont.	E.W. FOGARTY
Local 00910,	Suffield, Alta.	C. ANTEN
Local 21001,	Vedder Crossing, B.C.	H. CONNOR
Local 21002,	North Delta, B.C.	J. R. PERCHER
Local 21006,	Prince George, B.C.	M. A. NEWMAN
Local 21009,	Victoria, B.C.	W. HITCHEN
Local 50706,	Pineimuta, Man.	D. GODFREY
Local 70604,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. WILDE
Local 70644,	Ottawa, Ont.	B. ARIAL
Local 80408,	Sydney, N.S.	D. A. KEOUGH
Local 90102,	Gander, Nfld.	T. MASON

Union of Public Service Commission Employees
Syndicat des employés de la Commission de la Fonction publique

Local 10277,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. CARTER
Local 70139,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. E. BONIN
Local 70155,	Ottawa, Ont.	J. ROY

Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union
Union des Employés de gros, de détail et de magasins à rayons

Local 00287,	Calgary, Alta.	R. TANGUAY
Local 00288,	Calgary, Alta.	D. LUFT
Local 00414,	Don Mills, Ont.	M. DANYLUK
		R. HIGSON
		H. LOVIE
		J. MULCAHY
		R. SPENCER
Local 00440,	Don Mills, Ont.	J. INGRAM
Local 00461,	Don Mills, Ont.	A. DUFFY
		D. HALL
Local 00467,	Winnipeg, Man.	D. MURRAY
Local 00468,	Winnipeg, Man.	G. ALCORN
Local 00469,	Winnipeg, Man.	L. SOBOTKIEWICZ
Local 00483,	Cardinal, Ont.	G. O'BRIEN
Local 00561,	Winnipeg, Man.	D. SUTHERLAND
Local 00579,	Sudbury, Ont.	J. FILLATOR
Local 00582,	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	E. CAMIRAND
		L. J. GRANDBOIS
Local 00597,	St. John's, Nfld.	S. DYER
Local 00755,	Winnipeg, Man.	E. KUNTZ
Local 00895,	Winnipeg, Man.	A. GRAVELINES
Local 01065,	Bathurst, N.B.	G. VAIR

Service Employees' International Union
Union internationale des employés des services

Local 00204,	Toronto, Ont.	S. BASSETT
		S. COPPEN
		B. CROFT
		S. EVANS
		J. GOODDEN
		F. JACKSON
		E. R. LALIBERTE
		P. LANKTREE
		J. PARVANIK
		V. PERRY
Local 00220,	London, Ont.	K. BRADLEY
		L. BURDEN
		R. JACQUES
Local 00244,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. RYAN
Local 00268,	Thunder Bay, Ont.	R. AMBRO
		M. ARNONE
		C. MacDONALD
		L. J. O'BRIEN
Local 00298,	Montréal, P.Q.	A. ARSENEAULT
		N. BARRETT
		C. BELAINSKY
		R. BELHUMEUR
		A. BILODEAU
		A. BOURQUE

		J. BRAVO
		A. CASTELLO
		J. CORBEIL
		R. COULOMBE
		A. CRETE
		D. CUSSON
		N. DESORMEAUX
		L. DUVAL
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		J. LARIVIERE
		A. BELAND
		F. MYLES
		J.-P. PANNETON
		J. PEPIN
		L. PERRON
		W. PERRON
		L. SEGUIN
		E. ST-PIERRE
		C. TREMBLAY
		M. ZARELLI
Local 00299,	Moose Jaw, Sask.	B. BETKER
Local 00323,	Edmonton, Alta.	S. WOOK
Local 00333,	Saskatoon, Sask.	C. ERICKSON
		H. HOFFMAN
		H. PETERS
Local 00336,	Swift Current, Sask.	J. DYCK
Local 183/663,	Belleville, Ont.	D. J. BURSHAW II

Shipyard General Workers' Federation of British Columbia
Fédération des ouvriers de chantiers navals de la Colombie-Britannique

Local 00001,	Vancouver, B.C.	C. WILSON
Local 00003,	Victoria, B.C.	E. LANGKAMER
Local 00009,	Victoria, B.C.	W. S. KNIGHT

Telecommunications Workers' Union
Syndicat des travailleurs en télécommunication

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Local 00002,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. K. FROST
Local 00004,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. McMURPHY
Local 00006,	Burnaby, B.C.	K. N. MORRISON
Local 00007,	Burnaby, B.C.	P. ZANDER
Local 00009,	Burnaby, B.C.	R. DORVAL
Local 00010,	Burnaby, B.C.	T. NORTH
Local 00016,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. STOUTENBURG
Local 00023,	Burnaby, B.C.	A. KAMINSKY
Local 00024,	Burnaby, B.C.	I. ADAMS
Local 00031,	Burnaby, B.C.	A. TELFOR
Local 00032,	Burnaby, B.C.	G. YAWRENKO
Local 00035,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. GORDON
Local 00038,	Burnaby, B.C.	L. ARMSTRONG
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United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, International Union
Syndicat international des travailleurs unis de l'automobile, de l'aéronautique, de l'astronautique et des instruments aratoires d'Amérique

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Local 00673,	Rexdale, Ont.	E. HOLLINSWORTH
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		S. MacKINNON
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Local 01325,	Stratford, Ont.	R. BAKER
Local 01352,	Cambridge, Ont.	M. LYONS
Local 01362,	Pierreville, P.Q.	J. FORTIN
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Local 01421,	Georgetown, Ont.	M. HEWITT
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Local 01538,	Belleville, Ont.	J. SMITH
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		K. THOMPSON
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Local 01951,	Joliette, P.Q.	R. FRANCIS
Local 01965,	Blenheim, Ont.	D. ALEXANDER

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Local 01985,	Oakville, Ont.	F. M. KENNY
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Local 02169,	Winnipeg, Man.	H. MITIC
Local 02176,	Port Elgin, Ont.	Y. BELLEFEUILLE

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America
Ouvriers unis de l'électricité, de la radio et de la machinerie d'Amérique

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Local 00514,	Welland, Ont.	A. REES
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Local 00521,	Toronto, Ont.	B. WALSH
Local 00522,	Kingston, Ont.	O. DOYLE
Local 00523,	Welland, Ont.	M. CURRIE
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Local 00525,	Don Mills, Ont.	A. JENKYN
Local 00532,	Montréal, P.Q.	R. ROY
Local 00540,	Peterborough, Ont.	W. WOODBECK
Local 00542,	Barrie, Ont.	A. PETERS
Local 00544,	Richmond Hill, Ont.	S. MacDONALD
Local 00546,	London, Ont.	G. SNYDER
Local 00550,	Hamilton, Ont.	J. SCHOFIELD
Local 00555,	Hamilton, Ont.	W. RENWICK
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Local 00560,	St-Jean, P.Q.	P. BEGNOCHE
Local 00562,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. SARRIA
Local 00565,	Montréal, P.Q.	D. CORBEIL
Local 00566,	Rexdale, Ont.	K. SCOURFIELD

United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union
Syndicat des pêcheurs et travailleurs assimilés

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Local 00002,	Vancouver, B.C.	K. SCHULTZ
Local 00005,	Vancouver, B.C.	G. HEWISON
Local 00007,	Vancouver, B.C.	J. NICHOL
Local 00008,	Vancouver, B.C.	W. JARVIE
Local 00010,	Vancouver, B.C.	J. SINCLAIR

Local 00015,	Vancouver, B.C.	F. COX
Local 00019,	Vancouver, B.C.	G. MEGGS
		H. O'SHAUGHNESSY
Local 00023,	Vancouver, B.C.	B. GRANT
Local 00026,	Vancouver, B.C.	D. TRIBE
Local 00031,	Vancouver, B.C.	J. THORKELSON
Local 00037,	Vancouver, B.C.	M. STEWART

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union
Union internationale des travailleurs unis de l'alimentation et de commerce

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Local 00068,	Toronto, Ont.	J. LITSAS
Local 00082,	Toronto, Ont.	A. HERSHOVITZ
Local 00102A,	Montréal, P.Q.	N. GIGNAC
Local 00111,	Winnipeg Man.	D. ATKINSON
		P. KYRYLUK
		B. ZIMMER
Local 00114P,	Toronto, Ont.	K. PARK
Local 00130,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. ST-JEAN
Local 00139,	Kitchener, Ont.	F. WILLYUNG
Local 00175,	Don Mills, Ont.	M. BRAUN
		C. CLERMONT
		J. DINARDO
		J. DOYLE
		N. DYRLA
		F. GUTCHER
		J. HURLEY
		F. KELLY
		J. MONTGOMERY
		W. RENO
		W.R. RICHARDSON
		A. SWARBRICK
		P. THOMPSON
		G. WADSWORTH
Local 00180,	Burnaby, B.C.	D. CHERRILLE
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		M. FRASER
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		P. McREA
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Local 00233F,	Frankford, Ont.	R. HARRIETHA
Local 00234P,	Saskatoon, Sask.	G. SEMENIUK
Local 00244,	Moncton, N.B.	B. LEAMAN
Local 00248P,	Saskatoon, Sask.	L. SCHREINER
Local 00280P,	Edmonton, Alta.	H. G. STEELE
Local 00282P,	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	C. HEALD

Local 00283P,	Burnaby, B.C.	E. SMOLIAK
Local 00291P,	Pierrefonds, P.Q.	S. ROBERGE
Local 00312A,	Edmonton, Alta.	J. BEAUDRY
Local 00314,	Montréal, P.Q.	F. COUTURE
Local 00357,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. TURMEL
Local 00358,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. FAUCHER
Local 00368,	Montréal, P.Q.	H. PLAMONDON
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Local 00397,	Calgary, Alta.	H. JURCHUK
		D. MARTIN
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Local 00500,	Montréal, P.Q.	P.-F. BOIVIN
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Local 00501,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. BRODEUR
		J. LAVOIE
		R. PILON
		J. ROBERGE
Local 00502,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. BRUNET
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Local 00530P,	Toronto, Ont.	G. GALLAGHER

Local 00541P,	Burnaby, B.C.	K. SCHOENBERGER
Local 00596,	Leamington, Ont.	A. MATTUCCI
Local 00615,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. BARON
Local 00625,	Montréal, P.Q.	A. SAINTE-MARIE
		D. USEREAU
Local 00633,	Don Mills, Ont.	W. E. HANLEY
		D. SEXTON
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Local 00715,	Frankford, Ont.	R. PEARSON
Local 00720,	Montréal, P.Q.	G. DUBE
Local 00725A,	Don Mills, Ont.	M. McKAY
Local 00726,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. LAMARCHE
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Local 00747,	Montréal, P.Q.	M. LAFLAMME
Local 00749,	Montréal, P.Q.	R. HAINS
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Local 00766P,	St-Constant, P.Q.	R. ASSELIN
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Local 00801,	Frankford, Ont.	C. SZALAI
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Local 01182P,	Don Mills, Ont.	V. L. DERRAUGH
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Local 01220,	Montréal, P.Q.	J. GLADU
Local 01252,	St. John's, Nfld.	N. MURRAY
		K. CONDON
		B. BAKER
		W. REID
		R. CASHIN
Local 01288P,	St. Stephen, N.B.	J. OLSON
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		G. HARDER

Local 01518,	Burnaby, B.C.	J. ALLARD
Local 01600,	New Westminster, B.C.	J. SMITH
		H. TIMS
Local 01634,	Montréal, P.Q.	C. BREAULT
Local 01973,	Halifax, N.S.	B. DURNO
Local 01973,	Halifax, N.S.	J. McKINNON
Local 01974,	Montréal, P.Q.	L. HINTON
Local 01977,	Guelph, Ont.	B. WILLIAMSON
Local 01979,	Frankford, Ont.	I. E. REILLY

United Garment Workers of America
Travailleurs unis du vêtement d'Amérique

Local 00035,	Winnipeg, Man.	F. ARRO
Local 00120,	Edmonton, Alta.	A. OZIPKO
Local 00232,	Richmond, B.C.	K. MUDRY
Local 00253,	Toronto, Ont.	J. GOLDING
Local 00481,	Saskatoon, Sask.	D. WIERINGA
Local 00483,	Vancouver, B.C.	F. DICESARE
Local 00508,	Guelph, Ont.	D. O'BRIEN

United Mine Workers of America
Mineurs unis d'Amérique

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Local 04520,	Glace Bay, N.S.	J. J. CAMPBELL
Local 07292,	Sparwood, B.C.	C. CONNORS

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America
Union des ouvriers unis du caoutchouc, liège, linoléum et plastique d'Amérique

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		D. J. MURPHY
Local 00536,	Barrie, Ont.	N. ST-LAURENT
Local 00677,	Kitchener, Ont.	A. TURNER
Local 00691,	Sherbrooke, P.Q.	M. VIENS
Local 00696,	Waterville, P.Q.	L. POCOCK

United Steelworkers of America
Métallurgistes unis d'Amérique

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Local 00343,	Kingston, Ont.	D.C. TOUSIGNANT
Local 00651,	Kimberley, B.C.	M. McLELLAN
Local 00802,	Yellowknife, N.W.T.	B. ROBERTSON
Local 00926,	Whitehorse, Yukon	W. RUDYCHUK
Local 01005,	Hamilton, Ont.	G. BEATTIE
		T. DIDONATO
		D. FRASER
		A. GILLIS
		M. KEANS

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